

Prisons  
for  
profit

PAGE 12

# IN THESE TIMES

VOL. 12, NO. 32

AUG. 17-30, 1988

\$1.25

# OZONE

**DELAY IN THE FACE OF DISASTER**

DICK RUSSELL REPORTS PAGE 6

**The drought**

Lessons for farmers

PAGE 9

**Occupied Territories**

Declaration of independence?

PAGE 10

Miles DeCoster

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG  
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED





## How a lightweight like Pete Wilson is likely to retain his championship

By Kathryn Phillips

LOS ANGELES

This should be the year the Democrats retrieve California's second U.S. Senate seat—the one that has traded hands so regularly in recent decades that it is referred to as the state's jinxed seat. Since 1952 the seat has been only a one-term home to its holders, some of whom helped create California's national image as a breeding ground for out-of-the-ordinary (some might even say flaky) politicians. Former Hollywood tap-dancer George Murphy and semanticist S.I. Hayakawa, whose chronic dozing during Senate committee meetings helped force him out of office, have been two of the notable holders.

Then came Pete Wilson. A Reagan loyalist, Wilson looked earlier this year like he might be vulnerable to the one-term syndrome. The 54-year-old Republican beat former Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr. for the seat in 1982, a win that was mostly a reflection of Brown's unpopularity. After nearly five years in the Senate, opinion surveys showed that only about one-third of the state's voters even knew who Wilson was. "He's sort of a me-too kind of guy, not a leader," said Sierra Club representative Bob Hattoy. Moreover, he is a dull public speaker. So when Democratic Lt. Gov. Leo McCarthy announced last year that he would challenge Wilson, polls showed the senator running neck-and-neck with the lieutenant governor.

But a weak McCarthy campaign, combined with Wilson's heavy fund-raising and a barrage of early Wilson television advertisements, have turned the polls around. Now McCarthy stands a distant 20 points behind the almost determinedly colorless incumbent. McCarthy also is trailing in fund-raising. McCarthy's campaign is "a campaign searching for itself," said one political consultant not involved in the Senate race. "It just doesn't seem to me thematically thought out."

**Who is this guy?** At the heart of these problems is a candidate who doesn't really have an image in California. His name is generally known, but his identity isn't. And like Wilson, he generates little enthusiasm from the podium or in front of TV cameras. Nevertheless, the 57-year-old McCarthy has managed to become one of the deans of the Democratic Party in California. He led the state legislature in 1974-80 as speaker of the Assembly, one of the most powerful positions in state government.

Since leaving, though, he has moved to a nearly invisible state office that carries little power in the best of circumstances. To make matters worse, McCarthy has held the lieutenant governorship under conservative Republican Gov. George Deukmejian, who has no reason to throw plum assignments or publicity his way.

The anonymity has been compounded, complained one Democratic activist, by McCarthy's own lack of leadership in criticizing Deukmejian.

McCarthy is annoyed by such talk and recently de-

fended his record of disagreement with the governor, saying he has regularly released press statements criticizing Deukmejian. Apparently, though, the statements haven't been the sort of heat generators that capture press interest.

Since announcing last fall that he would run for Senate, McCarthy has been stumping the state, combatting Wilson's TV ads with public appearances. He sounds like a traditional liberal on most issues, but appears mindful that he is running a state that voted overwhelmingly for Ronald Reagan four times, and that heavily relies on military spending to run its industry.

His campaign has scored a few small victories. Early in the race he attacked Wilson's contention that Oliver North and John Poindexter deserved a pardon for their roles in the Iran-contra scandal. McCarthy also made favorable headlines challenging Wilson's slow endorsement of the Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty. Wilson responded by retreating from his support of the contragate participants. Wilson also ultimately endorsed the INF Treaty.

**Between left and right:** But small victories may not be enough. McCarthy will have to attract the state's growing number of conservative voters living in southern and inland California, while not losing the progressive voters who cluster around San Francisco and Los Angeles. Liberal Democrats worry that in a zeal to capture the moderate and conservative voters, McCarthy will alienate progressives. Meanwhile, Wilson's job is easier because he can count on conservative voters and need worry only about the swing votes, whom his polls indicate are starting to swing in his direction.

McCarthy won many hearts by opposing docking of the battleship *Missouri* in San Francisco. But he lost former San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein's endorsement, a potential key to critical funding and those precious swing

## INSIDE STORY

votes. In addition, several well-publicized incidents have hurt the McCarthy effort. For instance, his campaign attempted to tie prominent Wilson aides to Panamanian dictator Manuel Noriega. The tactic backfired when it was reported that a campaign firm McCarthy used in 1982 also had done work for Noriega-backed Panamanian politicians.

Then at a fundraiser for McCarthy, nuclear disarmament activist Helen Caldicott accused Congress of subsidizing the arms race in order to create jobs. "That's the argument Hitler probably used when he built the gas ovens—jobs," she was quoted in newspapers as saying. McCarthy, determined not to be linked in the public mind as soft on defense, quickly disassociated himself from the comments as he simultaneously tried not to offend anti-nuclear activists. Wilson used the incident to discredit his opponent.

Compounding his difficulties, and despite a strong environmental record, McCarthy cannot automatically claim control of the environmental vote in this campaign. Wilson, normally indistinguishable from other Southern California-bred Republican officials, has historically separated himself from his colleagues by cultivating an image as a strong environmentalist. The claim is open to question—environmentalists give him a score of only 32 out of 100 possible points—but he has used that image effectively. For instance, he recently beat McCarthy to the punch by quickly endorsing support of a local ballot initiative banning onshore drilling along the Los Angeles shoreline.

McCarthy has one strong card, though. The Sierra Club endorsed him after Wilson refused to support the Desert Conservation Act—a move that infuriated Wilson. With 200,000 members, the club represents a large voting bloc and valuable source of campaign volunteers. In 1986, environmentalists were credited with putting California Sen. Alan Cranston over the top in a tight race against a Republican challenger. If they can do the same for McCarthy, it will be nothing short of a miracle.

## CONTENTS

Inside Story: The race for California's "jinxed" Senate seat .....	2
When the left faces liberals—a Michigan House race .....	3
In Short .....	4
Ozone—delay in the face of disaster .....	6
After the drought—rethinking farm policies and practices .....	9
Occupied Territories—what Jordan's pullout means .....	10
West Germany's many shades of Green .....	11
Prisons for profit—crime pays if you own the jail .....	12
Editorials .....	14
Letters Sylvia .....	15
Viewpoint: Is the anti-apartheid movement on the wrong track? ..	16
Ashes & Diamonds by Alexander Cockburn .....	17
In Print: Is the U.S. labor movement stuck in the Cold War? ..	18
<i>The Decline of Organized Labor in the United States</i> .....	19
In the Arts: Museums look at the have-nots of U.S. history .....	20
Classifieds Life in Hell .....	23
The feminine mistake—confessions of a tamed shrew .....	24



(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 472-5700. The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright © 1988 by Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL, and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054. This issue (Vol. 12, No. 32) published Aug. 17, 1988, for newsstand sales Aug. 17-30, 1988.



By Roger Kerson

ANN ARBOR

**W**HEN MICHAEL DUKAKIS ANNOUNCED IN Atlanta that the 1988 election would be about competence, not ideology, Dean Baker wasn't listening. Maybe he should have been. Running for Congress in Michigan's 2nd Congressional District on an undiluted left-wing platform, Baker was trounced by a better than two-to-one margin in the August 2 Democratic primary by State Sen. Lana Pollack, an Ann Arbor legislator with more conventional liberal credentials.

Baker, a 30-year-old economist who recently received his Ph.D. from the University of Michigan, mounted his second campaign for Congress this year. As he did in 1986, Baker spoke out on controversial issues, including support for Palestinian rights, proposals for higher taxes on the wealthy and a call for normalization of relations with Nicaragua. Operating on a shoestring budget, Baker relied on a heavy network of volunteers as the mainstay of his campaign.

Two years ago, that formula was sufficient to earn Baker a narrow victory in the Democratic primary over a lackluster challenger who had been endorsed by the local party establishment. He went on to lose the general election to five-term Republican incumbent Carl Pursell, but he managed to get 41 percent of the vote—the best showing against Pursell by a Democrat in many years.

Before deciding to run for representative, Baker examined certain aspects of the job from inside Pursell's office, where he was arrested three different times in 1985 and 1986 during sit-ins organized by the local peace groups to protest Pursell's votes in favor of contra aid. Eventually, local Central America activists decided that the best way to engage Pursell in a debate on the issue would be to challenge him in an election, and the 1986 Baker campaign was born.

Pursell had a reputation as a moderate Republican when he was first elected to a swing district in the Southeastern corner of Michigan in 1976. In the 1982 redistricting that followed the 1980 census, the boundaries of Pursell's district were changed to make it more solidly Republican. Ann Arbor, a university town with a liberal tilt, makes up about a third of the district; to the east the district includes Republican-leaning Detroit suburbs, and to the west it takes in several conservative rural counties.

In the '80s Pursell compiled a more conservative voting record, including support for the contras.

**How safe is Pursell's seat?** Michigan's 2nd Congressional District has a mixed Republican and Democratic voting record. The area includes several constituent groups that could make up the core of a populist coalition: disgruntled farmers, white-collar workers from the auto industry, who have been victimized by planned industrial shrinkage, and blue-collar workers from the decaying industrial city of Jackson.

The political workforce needed to stitch this coalition together is available in the campus community of Ann Arbor, and in 1986 the Baker campaign mobilized more than 1,000 volunteers.

Baker's unexpectedly high 1986 vote totals caused political professionals to take a closer look at the 2nd District. "Our loss in this district really shook the election watch-

## Vote for Dean Baker



**Don't waste your tax dollars.  
Don't waste your vote.**

Paid for by Baker for Congress. W.H. Locke Anderson, Treasurer. (313) 747-8211

Campaign literature for Dean Baker: the candidate was limited by lack of funds.

## When leftists face liberals: a case study in Michigan

ers in D.C.," says Baker campaign staffer Kim Groome. "They were astonished that Pursell did that poorly."

If a political unknown like Baker—who had never held office before, who stood far to the left of the political spectrum, who ran his campaign on a miniscule budget—could do so well, then a more established, less ideological, better-financed politician could be expected to do even better.

It wasn't long before such a politician emerged, in the form of State Sen. Pollack. She entered the 1988 congressional primary after first satisfying herself that she would have enough money to mount a serious challenge to Pursell in the general election. "We had a meeting in my living room," Pollack recalls. "We said, it's got to be \$50,000 in 50 days.... We raised \$60,000 in 40 days."

Most of the early money, Pollack says, came from people who had backed her two previous campaigns for state senate. Following a visit to the National Conference of Women State Legislators in fall 1987, she also gathered donations from feminists around the country, who viewed her campaign as an opportunity to add another woman to the mostly male congressional club. Armed with a list of more than 1,000 individual contributors, Pollack convinced national women's organizations, liberal PACs and labor unions that she could run a credible race against Pursell. The 2nd District is now regarded as one of the few seats that

an incumbent could lose in November.

Pursell is considered vulnerable in part because of Pollack's fund-raising ability. As of June 30 she had raised \$350,000 and spent \$180,000; Baker, by contrast, had raised less than \$10,000. (In 1986 the average spending for a congressional campaign was \$148,000.) Pollack has more than 10 full-time campaign staffers; Baker had an underpaid part-time campaign manager who cleaned houses on the side to make ends meet.

The lack of funds didn't frustrate Baker so much as the attitude of political professionals, who he discovered are unwilling to support a campaign that doesn't start out with substantial financial resources. After winning the 1986 primary, Baker says, he went to Washington to see PAC representatives, trying to explain the grass-roots movement that had launched his campaign, but he received a less than enthusiastic response. As a result, Baker didn't even bother trying to solicit money from PACs in 1988.

His approach is unrealistic, says Al Jackson, political director of the National Committee for an Effective Congress (NCEC), a widely respected PAC that provides funding and strategic advice for liberal candidates. Politics is hardball, he explains, and you can't play unless you have a glove. Baker, he said in a pre-primary interview, "is not funded and therefore cannot win. If you can't get money back at home, nobody's going to create a candidate out of whole cloth here

in Washington.

"Money has become the yardstick by which credibility is measured," he says. As for volunteer-oriented grass-roots campaigns, "Unfortunately, I would ask Mr. Baker to show me a situation where that's worked."

Political professionals have their own ax to grind, argues Rick McHugh, an Ann Arbor attorney who is vice president of the National Lawyers Guild and was an active Baker supporter. "The very same people that say you have to spend all this money," he says, "benefit from the money being spent: political consultants and newspaper and media people all benefit from high-priced cam-

## CAMPAIGN 88

paigns, but I don't think the voter ends up being more informed or the democratic process improved."

The local media, says Baker staffer Kim Groome, "has tried to ignore Dean, and tried to inaccurately represent him." In June of 1988, a full two months before Democratic primary voters went to the polls, the *Detroit Free Press* ran an 18-column-inch analysis of the "Pursell-Pollack" race that never even mentioned Dean Baker's name. The *Ann Arbor News*, responding to a complaint from Groome that Baker wasn't getting enough coverage, ran an article with a lead comparing him to Rodney Dangerfield, the comedian who can't get any respect.

"The *Ann Arbor News* says Dean isn't a serious candidate," says McHugh, "and on the other hand, he won't be buying a couple of thousand dollars worth of newspaper ads. I don't think those two things are unrelated."

**Who's right? Who's left?** In a standard bit of political *ju-jitsu*, the Baker campaign tried to turn Pollack's fund-raising ability against her, suggesting that she was somehow tainted because of the contributions she had accepted. But Pollack was a bit hard to taint; although she is closer to the political center than Dean Baker, she is by no means a centrist.

In Lansing, the state capital, Pollack is viewed as an ultra-liberal, and political insiders

## State Sen. Lana Pollack trounced leftist Dean Baker in the Democratic congressional primary.

there react with amusement when they learn that a candidate in Ann Arbor is trying to outflank Pollack to her left. She is viewed as combative, and some describe her as "strident."

Pollack shrugs when she hears that word. "I'm surprised too many people would say that about me," she says. "If I were a man, they wouldn't use that term."

Pollack is not well-liked by the Michigan Chamber of Commerce, which ranks her as the state's second worst senator. By contrast, Pollack won legislator of the year honors from the Sierra Club in 1987. She has

*Continued on page 8*



By Joel Bleifuss

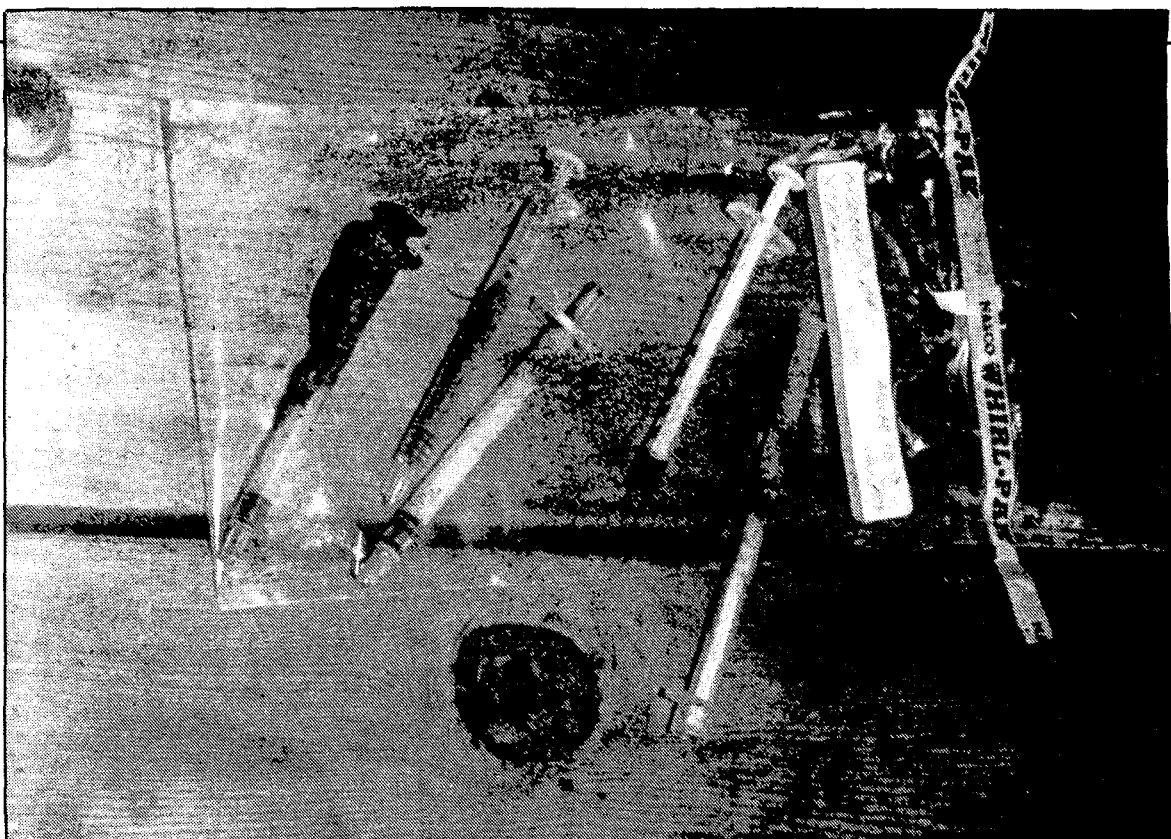
## Picayune minds

A scandal at the *New Orleans Times-Picayune* has taken the sparkle out of what would have been a vintage year for the hometown paper of the city that is hosting the Republican National Convention. The *Times-Picayune*, which in the past has not taken much note of national elections, was going to do right in '88. The Newhouse-owned daily pumped in money to beef up the staff, and Editor Charles Ferguson sent 34 reporters and editors off to Atlanta to cover the Democratic convention. One of those correspondents was Ronnie Virgets, who had for the past two years authored a popular and, in his words, "decidedly off-beat" human-interest column. It would turn out to be his last assignment at the *Times-Picayune*.

**Ronnie Virgets tells his story:** "I assumed that there were a large number of people willing to do the orthodox coverage, so I thought I would take a wise-ass look at the proceedings. I had gone to the so-called media party the Saturday night before the convention, and on Sunday I wrote a column on the fatuousness of the party and the excesses of the national press. None of it was particularly inflammatory—as everyone pointed out there were 15,000 people in search of one story. So I went in that afternoon and handed the story in at the company headquarters at the convention center. Assistant Editor Bruce Nolan gave it back and suggested that the tone was too angry and that I should reconsider it. So I reworked the column a couple times, but basically kept getting the same red light from Nolan. At that point Nolan got to the crux of the thing. He said that Ferguson, the editor back in New Orleans, was going to be reading all of the convention copy, that the *Times-Picayune* is hosting a similar media party the Saturday before the Republican convention and that he—Ferguson—may not like the story since he is courting the favorable opinion of the national press. Nolan then said, 'I wouldn't want you to jeopardize your career.' And I said, 'Well look, any column worthy of its name has to have more integrity than that. It can't be forced to always conform to the editor's value judgments. So finally Nolan said he was going to kill the story. At that time I had already planned my next two columns—one was on the superficial soul of Atlanta and the other was on what they were doing to sweep the homeless off the streets so that no delegate was going to have to look at them. But I saw that there was going to be nothing but official cheerleading allowed, so I went back to New Orleans. Ferguson said take a few days off and come back Monday. Then Monday he called me and said you can resign or be fired. In the back of my mind I figured that you can't draw unemployment insurance if you resign, so I got fired. It just seemed that it was time to take a stand."

**Assistant Editor Nolan explains:** "We had an editing dispute on deadline. He got up and walked out and I didn't see him again. There was no cooling off period. He simply abandoned the paper and stayed away for several days. It goes directly to the heart of what a daily newspaper is about. What happened after that I wasn't a party to."

**A *Times-Picayune* reporter fills in the blanks:** "Ronnie's actions can't be defended completely—he walked out on deadline. So, you suspend him without pay for a week, but you don't fire him; you don't fire your best writers. He's kind of a character, but compared to other characters in the history of the news business he's pretty mild. I have the feeling his firing is an indication of the new preppy-style journalism. The leadership of the paper comes from the New Orleans elite—the old-money, high-society upper class—and that doesn't include people who wear their shirt tails out and who could pass for a taxi driver like Ronnie Virgets. He often wrote about the underclass in New Orleans. But those things, in great measure, make the New Orleans elite uncomfortable. And this [workplace infraction] gave them a reason to make life more comfortable for themselves. I don't want to oversimplify things. I also think it has to do with the *Times-Picayune* still having an inferiority complex from before the 1980 merger when [the *Times-Picayune* and the *States-Item*] were universally known as two of the worst papers in the South. When they merged the paper began to improve a lot. And all this comes to a head at the Republican convention because we want to make a major impression on the national media who will all be in New Orleans. And that's fine, but when you begin to think more about your image with the national news media than your readership, your coverage and people like Ronnie Virgets suffer."



Kirk Condyles, Impact Visuals

**Changing tide?** Last September hospital refuse including hypodermic needles like these began littering the beaches in New York and New Jersey. Lobsters began dying, their shells marred from chemical burns. Toxic metals and everlasting chemical poisons were pumped from municipal sewer systems into the sea. A 100-square-mile section of the Atlantic Ocean's continental shelf became an Environmental Protection Agency-approved cesspool for the New York City area. *In These Times* has run two cover stories by Dick Russell on this subject, "The Fouling of the Atlantic" (Sept. 30, 1987) and "The World's Biggest Dump-site" (April 27, 1988). We are now pleased to note that in the past weeks the crisis of the Atlantic Ocean's disintegrating ecology has made the the front pages of the *New York Times*, *Time* and *Newsweek*.

## Ecological undertaking: West German cemetery bans funerary plastic

BRAUNSCHWEIG, WEST GERMANY—Repentance after a life of ecological sin will soon be the only choice for those whose earthly remains are buried in Central Churchyard, one of this country's biggest cemeteries.

To protect the soil and reduce the garbage heap, the Lutheran district church synod of this city, heeding the advice from the Central Churchyard cemetery committee, has banned plastic "in and around the coffin."

As of Jan. 1, 1989, synthetic coffin fittings and shrouds, plastic urns and artificial flowers and wreaths will be strictly barred from this 114-acre graveyard where each year some 1,000 people are laid to rest. With some 54,000 plots, it is the largest church-owned cemetery in West Germany.

Cemeteries, church groups and funeral homes have been pushing for a national prohibition on grave-site plastic. Such a regulation addresses one of a whole set of environmental problems that plague this heavily industrialized nation with the third

highest population density in Europe.

City cemetery director Joerg Bunke says the ban brings benefits above ground and below.

Cemetery groundskeepers currently sweep up some 1,000 cubic meters of clippings and greenery from Central Churchyard each year. Most of this is funeral greenery that would make good compost were it not for the synthetic flowers, plastic wreath rings and nylon bouquet binders.

"At least half [of the annual garbage] is plastic. At a typical funeral something like an average 10 to 12 wreaths or bouquets are laid down," says Bunke, whose office administers all of Braunschweig's cemeteries. Since separating synthetic from organic sweepings is too time-consuming, the pile winds up in the city dump. But with the plastic ban, cemetery sweepings will be kept, composted and returned to the soil.

Underground, the new prohibition in the 101-year-old cemetery is designed to be sure there is room for next century's corpses.

Czech writer Milan Kundera once titled a short story, "Let the Old Dead Make Room for the Young Dead," and in West Germany that is a literal commandment. Burial plots are not bought for eternity but rather leased for 20 or 30 years.

If the contract is not renewed the gravestone is removed and the space readied for another occupant. By thus turning plots over in roughly a 25-year cycle, Central Churchyard has been able to hold about 200,000 burials since 1887.

"After 20 or 25 years," says Bunke, "the coffin has decomposed and all that is left to see is a thin, slightly altered sediment."

But that is the case only if you use an all-wood coffin. In recent years plastic has taken over the market in the form of decorative fittings, linings, pillows and shrouds. These synthetic extras are cheaper and therefore popular among the bereaved. But these extras are not biodegradable. They clutter the underground, hinder the decomposition of the body they decorate and encumber excavation. At best they end up on the city's ever-growing refuse heap.

Funeral homes—interested in keeping the cemeteries functioning, not to mention in selling more expensive "organic" coffins—have joined the push to bar plastic. But they themselves cannot resist the industrywide move to synthetics, so they are asking cemetery officials to ban plastic for them.

"This way," says Bunke, "we've made sure that in 20 years we can lay in again."

—Marcus Kabel

## Chavez fasts to spark the liberal conscience

DELANO, CALIF.—Cesar Chavez, looking week and thin, shuffled into the makeshift chapel at the United Farm Workers (UFW) union field office

outside Delano and gently accepted the hug of a little dark-haired girl. It was the 20th day of his third fast in 20 years.

He smiled wanly as he slowly made his way to the front of the chapel where his rocking chair stood among the metal folding chairs. One by one he spoke softly to some of

the 400 men and women who had come to show their support. They quietly thanked him or reverently touched him as if fearing that anything loud or abrupt would break this almost messianic leader.

The UFW billed his action as a "Fast for Life." Chavez began it quietly, with no fanfare, July 16. It



could have as appropriately been called the "Fast for Homecoming."

Once the *cause celebre* of both uncertain liberals and unabashed lefties, the UFW and its latest campaign to protect grape pickers from dangerous pesticides has been all but ignored. When Perrier came in, the union's cause went out. And even during an age when environmental pollution ranks high on the list of voter concerns, the union's appeal to consumers to boycott grapes because of the effects of pesticides on workers and consumers has been largely unheeded.

Moreover, the union has suffered for the last six years under California's agriculture-backed governor. The Agricultural Labor Relations Board, established under former Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown's administration to assure farmworkers the right and ability to organize, has been packed with grower-sympathizers by Gov. George Deukmejian.

Dues-paying union membership has dropped from a high of 60,000 to 30,000 as the number of enforceable contracts with growers has been cut in half to about 80.

Growers have charged that Chavez' fast and the boycott itself have been ploys to help increase

union membership. "The people who say that, they never come around the union," said Dolores Huerta, the union's co-founder and vice president. "The only way you can police these pesticides is through a union contract."

Meanwhile, reports of incidents of pesticide poisoning to farm workers and residents of agricultural communities increasingly creep into the back pages of the state's daily newspapers.

This has frustrated Chavez. Three days into his fast he released this statement: "This fast is first and foremost personal.... It is a fast for the purification of my own body, mind and soul. [It] is also an act of penance for those in positions of moral authority and for all men and women activists who know what is right and just, who know that they could or should do more, who have become bystanders and thus collaborators with an industry that does not care about its workers."

Huerta was attending the Democratic National Convention in Atlanta when she got word that Chavez had begun the fast. "This time when they told me he was fasting...I had a very strong emotional response to it because my first thought was, 'Hey, this guy's 61 years old,'" she said.

"And then, after seeing all the grapes at the Democratic convention, at the hotels, at the receptions, I thought it couldn't happen at a better time."

On the 19th day of the fast, Kathleen Townsend, Kerry and Douglas Kennedy, adult children of the late Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, visited Chavez. Their presence drew about 50 reporters and 1,100 people to the nightly mass. After that, the battered conscience of American liberals was beginning to show some signs of awakening.

The following day, old supporters and former union staffers who once had worked for subsistence to organize for the union returned from more lucrative positions around the state to show support at the nightly Mass.

They stood with field-weary farmworkers, praying, singing. When the Mass ended, they sang "De Colores" as a handful of escorts helped Chavez, his face in an expression of pain, back down the aisle to the door. Before he climbed into the car that whisked him to his room a few hundred yards away, an elderly Latino woman grasped the union leader's hand and tenderly kissed it. Chavez, clearly touched and without pause, held hers and returned the kiss.

—Kathryn Phillips

## Transylvania refugees a headache for Hungary

BUDAPEST, HUNGARY—The situation is familiar: thousands of refugees struggling over an increasingly fortified border to a less unfortunate land. But the scene is unexpected—and unprecedented: this is Eastern Europe, where minority and migration problems are usually silenced in the name of "socialist unity."

With Romania's new cuts in food and heating allowances, and water shortages adding filth and disease to already substantial misery, a short-lived slackening of emigration controls by the Romanian government caused a wave of refugees estimated at more than 10,000 to cross westward into Hungary late last year. Most are ethnic Hungarians from the over 2-million-strong persecuted minority in Transylvania. But a sizable number of ethnic Romanians fled their homes as well. Most continued on to Budapest, where they have constituted a major headache for a government struggling to find a way out of its deepest political and economic crisis in 30 years.

Hungary's new austerity program, levying debilitating taxes on top of increasing poverty, along with the recent appearance of unemployment and a 10-year-plus normal waiting time for an apartment make life hard even for Budapest residents. Most refugees arrive and remain with only temporary papers—many with none at all. And despite plummeting relations between the two countries, if Hungary were to grant political asy-

lum status it would shake the political and military alliances too much. Private citizens have offered ad hoc help, churches give out food and clothing and, finally, a reluctant government was moved to allocate about \$6 million for "Hungarians hurt in their Hungarian-ness."

But many were dissatisfied with the government's legal waffling and its fluctuating commitment—up until last September Hungarian authorities were respecting a bilateral protocol and sending refugees back weekly to an uncertain fate in Romania. There was also anger at the government's exclusive emphasis on ethnic Hungarian refugees.

In January, after 140 refugees were called in to the Office for Foreigners in Budapest and told they would have to leave the country by the end of the month, independent activists sent an appeal to the government demanding humane treatment for the refugees. After the appeal was broadcast on the West's Hungarian-language radio with a phone number, eight to 10 calls per day started coming in, both from those in need and others offering to help. The committee concentrates on achieving stable legal status for refugees and emphasizes equal concern for the ethnic Romanians, who are left out by official institutions and lack the national sympathy and language and family connections that make it easier for ethnic Hungarian refugees.

Sandor Szilagyi, one of the founders of the committee, is actively working to counter a substantial anti-Romanian resentment in Hungarian society. "If a mother can't get milk for her children, it doesn't matter if she's Hungarian or Romanian," he said. He is also skeptical of the

government's recent expressions of sympathy, which he feels have been forced on officials by their sense of crisis and the massive popular concern for "oppressed Hungarians." Official aid agencies, including the churches and Hungarian Red Cross, are paralyzed by the bureaucracy endemic to East European socialism. In any case, they offer only stopgap assistance instead of dealing with the basic, long-term problems of refugees.

The committee has received a grant from a British church. The group will use the money to rent a large apartment for refugee use on an emergency basis. The number of calls to the committee has decreased since new Romanian measures in February practically closed every avenue out of the country for those able to work. But as long as the Romanian regime of President Nicolae Ceausescu continues its anti-minority and generally self-destructive policies, there will be no real abatement or solution.

At a recent benefit "Concert for Transylvania" organized by independent cultural artists, the leading musicians of the Budapest scene mixed short sets with a reading of banned poetry. A popular songwriter passionately declared that the Romanian people cannot be blamed for the deranged excesses of their dictator, and there was a statement from a Romanian refugee active in the underground "Free Romania" movement. The concert raised a substantial amount of cash for refugees, but the event did more to raise the consciousness and activism of the depoliticized young crowd.

—Richard Branch

## Barricades of the middle-aged

The increasingly popular corporate policy of cutting the size of middle management may be sowing seeds of dissension. High-level managers have discovered that there is money to be saved by firing middle managers and making do with junior executives in their 20s and early 30s—workers who, in general, are able and willing to work longer, harder and for less money than more senior employees. Most of these young managers (except for a select few slated for top management) will in turn be fired when they enter middle age and their dollar value to the company diminishes. But this new policy poses a potential problem. According to the *Wall Street Journal's* Henry F. Myers: "Further down the road, the decline in middle-management jobs—due partly to merger-related staff reductions—could cause trouble. As the competition for managerial jobs gets tougher, more and more people could fail to land the positions for which their increasingly extended educations presumably qualify them. A possible upshot: a socially disruptive horde of highly educated, deeply frustrated people."

## Our national standards

The federal government has gone into the freeze-dried urine business. Bob Smith, editor of *Privacy Journal* of Washington, D.C., reports that government-issued urine was developed for the Defense Department by the National Bureau of Standards. The instant urine—known officially as SRM 1507 (for Standard Reference Material) and selling at \$159 for three jars—contains a set amount of marijuana by-product. (Freeze-dried urine laced with cocaine and heroin are due out soon.) The instant urine, reconstituted with water, is used to periodically make sure that urinalysis equipment is in working order. Once all the machinery is in place and functioning properly the only casualties in the war on drugs will be the truly guilty.



## ...And that's the way it might have been

It is too bad that Ted Turner, the head of Turner Broadcasting System (TBS) and Cable News Network (CNN), was unsuccessful in his attempted takeover of CBS television. In the last few years Turner has developed an active interest in global environmental problems and the nuclear arms race. In 1984 he called together oceanographer Jacques Cousteau, the Audubon Society's honorary president Russell Peterson and founder of the World Watch Institute Lester Brown. With half a million dollars put up by Turner, the four founded the Better World Society, an organization that produces TV documentaries that focus on the environment and arms race. The shows are then aired on public television, Turner's own network and national networks overseas. In an interview with Dick Russell in *Extra!*, the publication of the New York-based group Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting, Turner said: "The planet is dying, and in 20 or 30 years it's gonna be dead—unless people stop fighting each other and work on these mutual problems we have. How can individual nations acting alone address problems like deforestation, acid rain, toxic wastes, ocean pollution, desertification or disasters like Chernobyl? I make about two speeches a week on this subject. The worst-case scenario is that the human species won't be here in 100 years."



By Dick Russell with Russell King

## Politics of ozone: delay in the face of disaster

IN THE FACE OF WHAT STAFF ATTORNEY DAVID Doniger calls "a genuine global emergency," the Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC) announced this month that it will shortly haul the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) into federal court. What the New York-headquartered environmental group is seeking, under mandate of the Clean Air Act, is a rapid and virtual phase-out of the chemicals that are depleting the stratospheric ozone layer.

This is the latest and potentially the most significant in a series of dramatic actions over the past year in the "politics of ozone." Not long after 24 nations signed an international treaty last September in Montreal, agreeing to cut by 50 percent their production of the chemicals by 1999, alarming new scientific evidence proved that the accord did not go nearly far enough. The stratospheric ozone layer, which makes life on Earth possible by shielding the planet from an overdose of the sun's ultraviolet (UV) radiation, was observed during a 17-month National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) study to be damaged more than twice as badly as computer models had earlier indicated.

It has now also been conclusively shown that chlorofluorocarbon chemicals (CFCs), released by refrigeration units, insulating foams and industrial solvents, are the primary cause of ozone loss. Once aloft, CFCs take between seven and 10 years to migrate into the upper atmosphere, where the sun's intense rays break them down, freeing atoms of chlorine. This chlorine in turn drives a series of reactions that destroys ozone.

**Catastrophe ahead?** For several years, scientists have documented a sudden and worsening hole in the ozone layer over Antarctica. An expedition last year found that the hole had doubled in size since 1985, with average depletion reaching 50 percent during the Antarctic spring when the darkness abates and the first sun's rays ignite chemical reactions. The frightening question is now whether this phenomenon might occur at other latitudes. The NASA study revealed that, since 1969, the ozone layer has declined by as much as 3 percent over heavily populated areas in the mid-latitudes of the U.S., Canada and Europe. At an international scientific meeting in mid-May, a Canadian researcher reported that another hole similar to Antarctica's may be developing near the North Pole.

Keep in mind that this result is occurring from human-made chemicals released quite some time ago. And once in the atmosphere, CFCs persist for roughly 100 years. Hence, the long-term effects have only begun to be documented. "At this point, one cannot eliminate catastrophe as one of the possible conclusions," atmospheric scientist F. Sherwood Rowland, who first sounded the alarm about CFCs in 1974, recently told the *Boston Globe*.

With each 1 percent loss of ozone, twice that amount of ultraviolet radiation reaches the Earth. The amount of UV reaching the ground may well increase by 15 percent or more by the middle of the next century. For humans, that means increases in the already-climbing rate of skin cancer. The EPA has estimated that a 15 percent rise in UV would cause 1.5 million additional skin cancer

cases each year. Over Australia and New Zealand, where average ozone depletion is now estimated at 4 percent, at least a 20 percent increase in skin cancer over the next two decades is anticipated. Margaret Kripke, an immunologist who headed an EPA scientific panel on ozone risks, says that UV rays may also damage the body's immune system and impair the ability to fight off certain infectious diseases.

"But in many cases, humans can protect themselves from radiation," says Dr. Thomas

### ENVIRONMENT

Coohill, president of the American Society for Photobiology. "I think that plants soaking up all that ultraviolet is more of a worldwide worry. Decreasing crop yields could lead to starvation in many parts of the world."

**Sunburned soybeans:** So far, there hasn't been much research into such a threat. But experiments by Dr. Alan Teramura, a botany professor at the University of Maryland, have found that each 1 percent increase in UV radiation apparently gives soybeans "sunburn," reducing their yield by an equivalent amount and damaging the quality of the grain. Teramura estimates that two out of three plant species are sensitive to increased rates of UV.

As more UV radiation makes its way toward the Earth, it creates ozone smog. Ironically, while ozone is a blessing in the upper atmosphere, at ground level it's a curse. There, coming from a reaction between nitrogen oxides (a product of combustion) and volatile organic compounds, ozone becomes the major urban air pollutant. Because of high ozone levels, numerous cities are violating federal clean air standards. And this low-level ozone is also a greenhouse gas, adding to the increasing heat.

Even if all CFC manufacturing across the globe were stopped today, we would still face serious problems ahead. Given the tons of chemicals already released and still en route to the stratosphere, the ozone shield would over time probably decline another 4 to 5 percent. But scientists point out that the protective veil is not yet irreparably damaged: in time, it can stabilize and heal itself.

**Clamp down:** Thus the haunting question is whether the political will exists to put a total clamp on CFCs. A year ago the Montreal Protocol and its 50 percent cutback plan by the leading industrial nations was negotiated under the assumption that ozone depletion wouldn't reach the startling levels that the NASA study subsequently detected until the year 2050. Now, as it stands, "the Montreal accord can do absolutely nothing," says Robert Watson, chairman of NASA's Ozone Trends Panel. Watson also recently pointed out to *World Watch* magazine that CFC production will remain constant during the treaty's 10-year phase-down period, since developing nations were given a complete exemption and some major CFC users, like South Korea, refused to sign.

The existing Protocol has now been signed by 37 nations and ratified by six (including

the U.S.), and is expected to take effect on schedule next January. But Mustafa Tolba, executive director of the United Nations Environment Program that oversees the effort, has declined urgent requests from environmentalists and Congress members for an emergency meeting to strengthen the treaty. EPA Administrator Lee Thomas has merely requested Tolba to speed up the assessment process to determine whether further reductions are needed.

Nor has the EPA shown any inclination to push the U.S. beyond the bounds of the current treaty, despite the fact that even shortly before Montreal the agency was calling for a 95 percent cutback worldwide. "There is no question that the science leads to the conclusion that deeper cuts are necessary," admits EPA spokesman Christian Rice. But, he adds, if the U.S.—producer of 29 percent of the world's CFCs—were now to move unilaterally toward a total phase-out, other nations might then be disinclined to ratify the existing pact, believing that they don't have to do anything because the U.S. is doing it for them.

The EPA's rationale seems moot, since it's anticipated that 11 countries representing at least two-thirds of the global CFC production will ratify the Montreal pact by the October deadline.

Indeed, Norway and Sweden have already gone further than the 50 percent cutback, stipulating a near-total ban on CFCs and Halons (chemicals used widely in fire-extinguishing systems) by 1995. "This is a survival issue in a global sense," Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland recently commented.

Yet no such forthright statements have been forthcoming from President Reagan or his administration.

**"It's intolerable that the very companies which have damaged the ozone layer should now make billions in windfall profits in order to save it," says an NRDC attorney.**

"The U.S. finally did lead in pushing for an international agreement, but it's obviously time to take further steps and then get other countries to do the same," says the NRDC's Doniger. "It's this country's obligation to lead by example, but we are rapidly losing any leadership role."

**Enter the NRDC:** So NRDC, the group that first sued the EPA in 1984 and was successful in forcing certain stronger restrictions of CFCs by the agency, is going back into federal court. It will use the latest scientific assessments as a clear indication that a mandated 50 percent CFC reduction in the U.S. is not good enough. (Experts now pretty much con-

cur that an 85 percent reduction is necessary just to keep the existing situation from getting worse; 95 percent would enable the ozone layer to restore itself over a period of decades.)

It could be a year, however, before the lawsuit is decided and, in the meantime, the EPA and the U.N. are dragging their heels "trying to ensure a smooth, inexpensive transition in the face of a monumental crisis," says Environmental Defense Fund scientist Michael Oppenheimer.

Glozzing over the ozone problem has, until very recently, been the norm for government, industry and science for most of the past 14 years. After atmospheric scientists first brought the ozone layer to public attention in 1974, people bombarded Congress with more letters than on any other issue since the Vietnam War. The EPA responded in 1978 by imposing a ban on the use of CFC propellants in aerosol sprays, which then comprised half of the U.S.' CFC output. Under President Carter, the agency went so far as to recommend a total freeze on U.S. production of the chemicals.

But CFCs were big business, especially for the powerful Du Pont Corporation. The chemical giant—the world's No. 1 CFC producer—has been manufacturing it since 1930, under the trademark Freon. For years, CFCs were regarded as a kind of miracle chemical—non-toxic, non-flammable coolants that made possible safe and reliable refrigerators and air conditioners.

Later CFCs became blowing agents for plastic raw materials and removers of impurities in computer microchips and electronic parts.

When the CFC-ozone link was first suspected, Du Pont pledged to take independent action if the theory panned out. But before doing anything, its executives wanted testing—which implied years of monitoring to gather evidence of actual damage to the ozone layer. Quietly, during the late '70s, Du Pont began researching CFC substitutes. But in 1980, the year Reagan was elected president, it stopped doing so. "There wasn't scientific or economic justification to proceed," the company's Freon division manager Joseph Steed told the *Washington Post* last April.

**Change of tune:** During Reagan's first term, warnings from the National Academy of Sciences suddenly became far less alarming. The ozone dilemma seemed indeed to have been relegated to deep space. EPA Administrator Anne Gorsuch Burford, forced to step down during a 1983 toxics scandal, even mocked the problem in a book published after her resignation. She called upon her readers to "remember a few years back when the big news was fluorocarbons that supposedly threatened the ozone layer?"

Science seemed equally intent on keeping the lid on. In 1985 the British Antarctic Survey and NASA finally went public about a nearly 40 percent decrease detected in the ozone layer over Antarctica's Halley Bay. It turned out that the British team had been observing a steady decline there since 1977, yet had decided against notifying the scientific community because they "mistrusted their measurements." In addition, NASA's own low readings since 1978 had been automatically discarded by the project's computer. According to a June 1986 article in the *New Yorker*, the computer had been programmed "not to record exceptionally



low ozone levels, because such levels had never been observed and might be expected to have resulted from faulty measurements."

So throughout the decade non-aerosol applications of CFCs increased substantially, leading eventually to higher levels of the chemicals in the atmosphere than before the EPA's 1978 aerosol ban. Du Pont, producer of one-fourth of the world's estimated 2.4 billion pounds of CFCs annually, and a half-dozen other American manufacturers continued manufacturing CFCs.

Today about \$135 billion in existing appliances and equipment use CFCs in the U.S., including 100 million home refrigerators and 90 million auto air conditioners. General Motors, whose own chemist in its Frigidaire division, Thomas Midgley Jr., invented CFCs 60 years ago, now says it's considering shifting from CFC-12 in car air conditioners to a non-chlorine chemical that doesn't deplete ozone. (Another option is for automakers to redesign their air-conditioning systems to use CFC-22, the coolant used in home air conditioners, which contains only one-20th the ozone-depleting capacity of CFC-12.)

But Du Pont says it will take until the year 2000 to come up with substitutes and phase out its CFCs altogether. After a briefing to its board of directors on the new NASA report last March, the corporation did announce plans to finally follow the beseechings of its own staff scientist and gradually end the CFC era. (A smaller company, Pennwalt, revealed its own intent the same day.) Since Du Pont was apparently voluntarily abandoning its \$600-million-a-year CFC trade, and going 50 percent further than the international treaty, the move drew considerable applause. Even the environmental group Friends of the Earth wrote to Du Pont's Chairman Richard Heckert, "You are to be congratulated for your commitment to eliminate these compounds...."

**Windfall profits:** The irony is that Du Pont, for whom CFCs added up to only about 2 percent of its 1987 earnings, may be about to reap a far bigger fortune on the products as demand for a dwindling supply of CFCs sends the price escalating. While Du Pont has touted its \$30 million investment in developing alternatives, the EPA predicts between \$1.8 billion and \$7.2 billion in windfall profits for the nation's seven CFC makers as they phase out the chemicals through the end of the century.

"It's intolerable that the very companies which have damaged the ozone layer should now make billions in windfall profits in order to save it," says the NRDC's Doniger. "Besides, if you're making lots of money still making the old stuff, you might be slower in introducing any new product. So the EPA, to its credit, is looking into either a fee or an auction system to capture some of that windfall." The money would go into future federal initiatives on the ozone layer crisis.

Internationally, Doniger believes that the U.S. should follow through on an earlier threat of trade restrictions against any country holding out against the Montreal Protocol and any future global agreements on CFCs. (Japan and Europe account for 41 percent of the world's CFC products; the U.S. 29 percent; India, China and other developing countries 16 percent; the Soviet Union and other Eastern bloc countries 14 percent. No East bloc country has yet ratified the Protocol.) The NRDC, through an already-established relationship with the Soviet Academy of Sciences on the nuclear verification issue, is "attempting to use that avenue of com-

munication to have the academy leadership bring home to Soviet officials the importance of ratification and reassessment of the agreement," according to Doniger.

Meanwhile, the People's Republic of China has signed a letter of intent with an American entrepreneur, Stephen Malaker, for a technology transfer for a CFC refrigeration substitute. Malaker, founder of a New Jersey company called Cryodynamics, Inc., has invented a new line of units with small, lightweight engines that rely on helium instead of chlorine. After encountering U.S. industry resistance to marketing his "cryodynamic coolers" for refrigerators and air conditioners, Malaker set up a prototype unit for the Chinese government.

"In essence," he says, "we've had to go around the U.S. establishment. But the Chinese want to leapfrog the Freon investment; they don't want to build big plants when CFCs are being outlawed all over the world. So they want to manufacture our household refrigerators, and their mandated goal is to get up to 9 million units a year by 1990."

While environmental groups like NRDC and even a pioneering inventor wrestle at the federal and international levels, there are efforts to increase awareness and action in local areas as well. The Environmental Defense Fund (EDF) is pushing hard for state and local mandates to force the recovery and recycling of CFCs from air conditioners and refrigerators, which account for about 40 percent of all CFC emissions.

**A time-bomb:** "Although a lot of CFC emissions happen immediately," notes the EDF's Sarah Clark, "many occur when cooling units in a car or a refrigerator are disposed of, or when they are serviced and recharged. Banning the production and use of CFCs won't solve the whole problem, because approximately 500 million pounds of CFCs in the U.S. are 'banked' inside these existing refrigeration units, a time-bomb waiting to be released."

New York and California are reportedly considering setting up CFC recycling centers. On another front, ordinances that restrict or ban foam packaging have been passed by Vermont, Maine, Massachusetts, as well as Suffolk County, N.Y., and the city of Berkeley, Calif.

In recent months no state has been as active in the war on ozone-depleting chemicals as Massachusetts. In an executive order issued May 18, Gov. Michael Dukakis immediately banned state purchases of styrofoam cups and plates made from CFCs, and ordered total elimination of all non-recyclable polystyrene (styrofoam) products by June 1989.

Then on June 22, Massachusetts Attorney General James Shannon filed a first-of-its-kind lawsuit against a Hyannis-based foam manufacturer, Packaging Industries Inc., to stop the firm from emitting CFCs. "We allege that this facility is emitting the equivalent of 7.8 million aerosol cans of CFCs a year and its disregard for its environmental effect cannot be allowed to continue," said Shannon, in charging the company with violations of the state's Clean Air Act and the Massachusetts Environmental Protection Act. The state is currently in negotiations with Packaging Industries Inc. to force it to install control technology to recover the CFCs and/or shift to nitrogen as its foam-producing agent.

"We are empowered to seek \$25,000 per day for each violation," says Shannon's spokesman Tom McNaught. "The fines could total millions if we go into court and win. What has

been absolutely incredible is the number of calls we have been receiving from attorney general's offices and environmental agencies across the country," indicating that they might be interested in taking a similar tack.

Curiously, the fellow who kicked off Massachusetts' charge last fall was its secretary of state, Michael J. Connolly. After watching for two years with increasing concern as scientists probed the growing hole in the Antarctic's ozone, Connolly hit the roof when Reagan Secretary of the Interior Donald Hodel opined a year ago that people concerned about the problem ought simply to don hats and sunglasses. Connolly, whose normal duties are supervising elections, corporations and stock sales, abruptly committed \$5,000 and five staff members to a save-the-ozone campaign, under the aegis of his office's Citizen Information Service. Turned down by the State Department in his effort to attend the Montreal Protocol conference, he went to the U.N. for permission—and got it.

Despite criticism from other state politicians that he's overstepping his bounds—some began disparagingly calling him the "Secretary of Space"—Connolly has forged ahead. He's hosted a conference at the Massachusetts State House on the impact of ozone layer depletion; pushed Sen. John Kerry (D-MA), who once defeated him for the Democratic nomination, to force the Foreign Relations Committee to move on ratifying the treaty; and bent Dukakis' ear on the need for an immediate summit conference on global environmental concerns if the governor becomes president. In early August the Massachusetts secretary of state served notice that he'd like to join onto the NRDC's lawsuit against the EPA and offered his legal skills, gratis.

Also in New England, a small firm called United Energy is working with the University of Maine to develop a simplified retail food refrigerator and a home unit with thermal ice storage that use the relatively benign chem-

ical compound found in room air conditioners. The new cooling systems are also said to be extremely energy-efficient, leading New England energy consultant Joseph Chaisson to muse: "The ozone problem may actually be the final goad in pushing people toward using more energy-saving equipment."

All of which would seem cause for optimism that Dukakis' election might make a crucial difference when it comes to the ozone dilemma. "I don't expect anything else from this current administration," says Rafe Pomerance of the World Resources Institute. "The NRDC lawsuit might do something, but really it's going to be up to the next administration."

All of which would seem cause for optimism that Dukakis' election might make a crucial difference when it comes to the ozone dilemma. "I don't expect anything else from this current administration," says Rafe Pomerance of the World Resources Institute. "The NRDC lawsuit might do something, but really it's going to be up to the next administration."

**The evidence is in:** Today even the most laissez-faire of scientists and government officials, for years unwilling to ruffle a few industrial feathers to save the planet, are being forced to concede that extreme solutions are needed.

"If we had taken early warnings seriously and phased out these chemicals in the '70s, there would be no detectable depletion today," David Doniger has said. "Because we're so addicted to these chemicals and because industry dropped [the search for] substitutes, we're stuck." Now, unless the U.S. and other nations wake up fast, he concludes, the crisis we face "will make Chernobyl look like a trash fire at the county dump."

**Dick Russell** writes regularly for *In These Times* on environmental concerns. He was assisted in researching this article by Russell King, of the education department at the Boston Museum of Science.

## How you can help protect the ozone layer

- Use alternatives to rigid foam insulation in your home. This insulation represents a huge store of banked CFCs that eventually will enter the atmosphere. Several alternative sheathing materials are available, such as fiberglass, fiberboard, gypsum and foil-laminated board. Cellulose is a good substitute for blown-foam insulation.
- Replace hoses in auto air conditioners to prevent leaks. Make sure air conditioners are serviced or recharged at licensed service stations, preferably stations that use refrigerant reclaiming systems. Otherwise, ask the station to drain the refrigerant into bottles for later recycling to prevent it from evaporating.
- Encourage hospitals to stop using ethylene-CFC sterilant mixtures as soon as possible, consistent with protection of public health. Urge your hospitals to employ steam sterilization techniques where possible, or investigate the idea of centralized sterilization centers.
- Promote the use of alternatives to Halon 1301 for discharge testing of total-flooding fire-extinguisher systems. Consumers should avoid using hand-held fire extinguishers that contain Halon-1211.
- Reconsider the use of styrofoam products. To protect the ozone layer and sponsor sensible solid waste management, many states, municipalities, institutions

and consumers have taken steps to limit their purchase of polystyrene foam products made with, or without, CFCs. This consumer action effectively encouraged the plastic foam manufacturing industry to cease using certain CFCs.

● Contact your members of Congress about the urgency of the ozone depletion crisis. The strongest advocates of CFC restrictions are: Rhode Island Sen. John Chafee (Steve Shimberg, staff aide); Vermont Sen. Robert Stafford (Curtis Moore, staff); and Montana Sen. Max Baucus (Ron Cooper, staff).

● Boycott products manufactured by the leading U.S. manufacturers of CFCs: Du Pont (which manufactures 51.5 percent), Allied-Signal (26 percent), Pennwalt (9.5 percent), Racon (7 percent) and LaRoche (6 percent).

● Why not suggest that the U.S. and Soviets initiate a joint atmospheric research project—large-scale synthetic production of ozone and then its placement back into the upper stratosphere using spacecraft, high-flying aircraft and high-altitude balloons? This idea was proposed by Thomas Bergstein, a geologist at the New Mexico Museum of Natural History in Albuquerque, and Kansas farmer scientist Gregg Walter.

(Much of this material is taken directly from the 32-page booklet, *Protecting the Ozone Layer: What You Can Do*, available from Sarah L. Clark, Environmental Defense Fund, 257 Park Ave. South, New York, NY 10010, [212] 505-2100.)



# Michigan

Continued from page 3

sponsored a state-level plant closing bill and also authored a bill to ban corporal punishment in Michigan schools. She opposes contra aid, Star Wars and the MX missile and supports national health insurance, expanded child-care efforts and a variety of other social programs.

Pollack represents the best that the mainstream liberal tradition has to offer—and the contest between her and Baker exposed some of the most glaring flaws in that tradition. On several occasions, for example, when Baker criticized Israeli mistreatment of Palestinians, Pollack responded with empty platitudes about the need for peace in the Mideast and the assertion that she was a "lifelong supporter" of Israel. Baker proposed restoring tax rates on wealthy households to their pre-1981 levels in order

to bring the federal deficit under control. Pollack says new revenue can be raised by closing loopholes, not by raising rates; she does favor eliminating the tax break that wealthy households won in the 1986 tax reform, but she does not advocate a return to the steeper progressive rate structuring of the pre-Reagan era.

On the sensitive issue of gay and lesbian rights, both candidates said they would support legislation to ban discrimination based on sexual preference. But Pollack enraged members of a gay and lesbian student group at the University of Michigan when she explained to them why she would not serve as a sponsor or co-sponsor of such a measure. "My sexual orientation is of the majority's kind," she said in remarks that were reported in the *Michigan Daily*, a campus newspaper. "I'm not interested in political suicide at age 45.... I wouldn't get re-elected. I know the electoral system well enough to

know its pitfalls. You're a fool if you take risks during your first term."

**Liberal laundry:** While Baker may have been successful in demonstrating the darker side of Pollack's liberal views, that ideological achievement did not help him to overcome her superior resources, her local popularity and her effective campaign organization, which was able to mobilize its own substantial cadre of volunteers. David Cahill, a left-leaning Democratic Party activist from Ann Arbor who supported Pollack, was not surprised.

"Most people in this district do not want a liberal laundry list thrown at them," says Cahill. "If you do, they toss it back at you and vote Republican."

"I'm delighted Baker has run," he adds, "because he's made Pollack look more moderate. You have two Democrats from Ann Arbor, one in the liberal tradition, one in the left-liberal revolutionary tradition. You've

got the revolutionary saying Pollack is wicked. That tells moderates maybe Pollack deserves a second look; maybe she's not that left-wing after all."

Yet Baker supporters believe that kind of positioning isn't going to help Pollack in the November election. "The 2nd District is about 60 percent to 40 percent Republican to Democrat," says McHugh. "There are different ways of getting that 40 percent up to 50 percent. One would be to contend in the middle with Pursell, and I think most centrists are going to be hard pressed to vote for someone like Pollack, who is going to be painted by Pursell as an ultra-liberal. The other way is trying to get people who have basically opted out of the process because they don't feel the system is speaking to them or their situations, and get them involved and voting."

In fact, turnout for the 1988 primary was up more than 50 percent from 1986, but most of the new voters pulled the lever for Pollack. Baker, however, believes the results would have been different if he could have communicated his agenda more effectively.

The electorate at large is well to the left of the political spectrum," he said in a post-election interview. "But it's impossible to get those things out there, because of who controls the media, and who's got the money. If I could have used the issue that Pollack supports Reagan's tax cuts for the wealthy, if that's what the race was fought over, I could have won. But I couldn't get that out there."

**Serious dogma?** Despite his defeat, Baker did win sort of a reverse victory: this year he never would have had to run against a candidate as well-known and as well-funded as Lana Pollack if his 1986 campaign had not successfully exposed Carl Pursell's weaknesses. If Pollack actually goes on to defeat Pursell in November, Baker and his supporters can claim credit for creating the political context in which her campaign became possible. Until their aggressive 1986 effort, no one thought the seat was winnable for a Democrat—and there was little or no money available from political investors for a suicidal challenge to an undefeatable incumbent. But the people who have been pounding the pavement for Baker during the past two elections are not especially interested in serving as stalking horses for risk-averse professional politicians.

Because money will always flow to incumbents, says Baker strategist Mark Weisbrodt, the only way to transform the situation is to mobilize large numbers of volunteers. It would take two or three times the 1,000 people fielded by the Baker campaign in 1986, he estimates, to mount a serious challenge to an entrenched officeholder.

Before that happens, he says, the left itself will have to undergo a transformation. "This is the only country in the world where the left does not take electoral politics seriously. That's why we're so underrepresented, compared to Europe or Latin America. I've argued with people for hundreds of hours. The best and most dedicated activists on every issue you can think of...think they're above electoral politics. They think we're the only country in the world where you can go from here to socialism without winning an election."

"It's a serious dogma," concludes Weisbrodt, "that the left is going to have to deal with, if we're ever going to have a share of power commensurate with the number of people who share our views."

Roger Kerson is a freelance writer who recently relocated to Chicago from Michigan.

## Step Into New Worlds... ... with the improbable Readers International

Readers International  
brings you today's  
world literature.  
Each hardcover volume,  
by subscription,  
is just \$8.45

(Regularly to \$16.95).

**RI is Good Books**—some of the world's best new writing, from South Africa, Nicaragua, China, the USSR, India, Lebanon, and elsewhere.

**RI is a Good Cause**—most RI titles have suffered censorship at home or were written in exile.

Improbable? RI is an independent press (with no connection to any mega-publisher) that searches out and brings to your doorstep the world's most gifted writers.

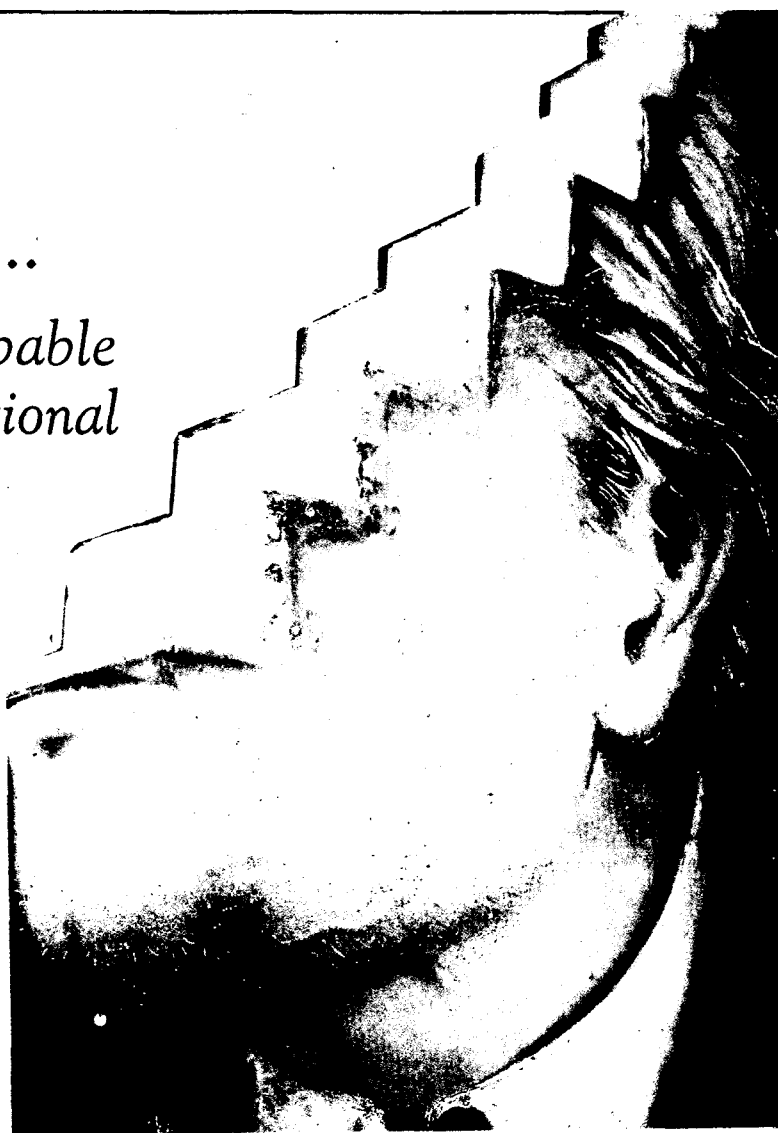
RI's editors select vital new voices from around the world. Improbable? RI introduced black South African Njabulo Ndebele. His *Fools*, says *USA Today*, "stands with Joyce's *Dubliners*." Now sold out but reprinted in paperback for this offer.

And the exiled Iranian Hadi Khorsandi, whose *The Ayatollah and I* delighted just about everybody but the mullahs. And the impertinent Ludvík Vaculík, author of *A Cup of Coffee with My Interrogator*, whom the *L.A. Times* called "the night watchman for the Czech national soul."

This is eye-opening, riveting reading. A must for readers with a keen interest in world affairs and good books.

How good? "With each new offering," says the *Washington Post*, "RI's list becomes more impressive." And RI's books are well-made: "RI's quality of production is first-class. Many wealthier publishers could learn from them." (London's *Guardian*)

The price is pretty improbable too: for just \$8.45 each, every other month you get a handsome, hardcover edition of our newest title.



Step into new worlds with RI, worlds seen more clearly, stories told more freshly than in any press or TV report. RI, says the *Financial Times*, is "a splendid and important enterprise and worth supporting."

Take that step now. You'll probably enjoy it.

### RI READERS INTERNATIONAL

P O Box 959 Columbia, LA 71418.

Please begin my subscription to RI at the \$8.45 subscriber price plus \$1.50 postage. Send RI's newest hardcover title at the same price every other month. At any time I may cancel simply by writing.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_  
☐ \$9.95 (Can \$12.50) enclosed. Bill my ☐ Mastercard ☐ VISA  
Card No. \_\_\_\_\_ Exp. Date \_\_\_\_\_  
Signature \_\_\_\_\_

**Special Savings and a FREE Book: Prepay a year's subscription for six books, save 20% more, and get a free paperback copy of Ndebele's *FOOLS*.**  
☐ I enclose my check for \$48.00 (Can \$58).  
☐ Bill my credit card for \$48 (US currency only).

TT 21



By David Moberg

**N**O AMOUNT OF RAIN NOW COULD REVERSE the devastating losses visited upon a wide swath of America's farmers by dryness and record heat this summer. Even the welcome \$3.9 billion drought assistance just passed by Congress will be like a light shower, falling far short of the projected \$20 billion loss.

But it's an ill drought that doesn't nourish some crop. And this year's crisis may spur needed rethinking of farm practices and policies.

This parched summer may be just a manifestation of historic weather cycles, not the beginning of major climactic shifts due to the "greenhouse effect"—a general heating of the earth resulting from damage to the atmosphere. But it suggests how cataclysmic even slight changes in the world's climate could be.

"If the greenhouse effect takes hold, we'll have famines on an unprecedented scale," warns J. Patrick Madden, a Pennsylvania State University agricultural economic professor. "We really need not wait until the train wreck before we take action."

Although autos and industry are the main culprits, even contemporary world agriculture contributes to its own demise: as much as 6 percent of U.S. fossil energy goes into agriculture (most to make fertilizers). More important, crucial rain forests in Central and South America are being unnecessarily leveled to produce cheaper beef for Burger King or Coca-Cola's Minute Maid orange juice concentrate.

Whatever the cause of the dry heat, many marginal farmers who had hoped for relief in 1988 after nearly a decade of farm depression will be wiped out, compounding blows to rural businesses and banks. "Many farmers will wind up much worse off, others much better off," Madden says. "There will be a redistribution of wealth and land ownership as a result of this."

To Wes Jackson, a plant geneticist who is co-director of the Land Institute in Salina, Kan., the drought heightens awareness of "what I call the 'problem of agriculture,' not problems *in* agriculture, but the problem of agriculture itself. The human being since we invented agriculture has yet to build an agriculture that is as sustainable as the nature we destroyed."

In recent decades agriculture has become even more an extractive economy—depleting the soil, losing soil to water and wind erosion, pumping the remaining soil full of nutrients derived largely from nonrenewable natural gas, often depleting or polluting natural watertables, and relying heavily on petrochemical-based herbicides and pesticides.

The current drought differs from the big brown-outs of the '30s. Most crops are more productive and resistant to dryness, farm programs ease some trauma and, after the '30s, soil conservation practices improved for decades before declining again in the '70s. But in some other ways farmers are now more vulnerable. Few produce much food for their own consumption now. They are also burdened with debt. (The worst victims of the '30s drought depression were tenant farmers, although most farm owner-operators today are part tenant as well.) Today farmers are also far less diversified: they have all their eggs in one proverbial basket, corn or soybeans, for example, and can't adapt to a bad crop by chopping it up and feeding it to their livestock. Many farming practices—such as use of chemical

weedkillers—are also more vulnerable to drought.

**Two paths:** The great divide in response to the new vulnerabilities, Jackson argues, will be between those who seek our salvation with "human cleverness at one extreme versus nature's wisdom at the other extreme." Are there technological fixes—irrigation systems or biotechnologically altered crops, for example—that can eliminate natural risks? Or does it make more sense, as Jackson argues, to study "how a prairie manages its water allocation scheme during periods of drought, to look at some of the ecological principles at work and to explore how many of those principles can be applied to agriculture. The beneficiary of this approach runs to the landscape and farmer. The beneficiary of the other approach runs to the supplier of inputs. Now huge monied interests are going to be attracted to the clever deliverers from our problem."

Jackson does not disdain cleverness in breeding new plants. He is working on a long-term project to develop a complex of perennial grasses and legumes planted together that could mimic the original plains with much higher yields of a "natural granola" harvest. But he emphasizes discovering nature's lessons.

Sometimes human cleverness backfires and makes farmers even more vulnerable. For example, during the '70s many Nebraska farmers adopted a new technology of center-pivot irrigation—huge rotating pipes covering hundreds of acres from a central well. To pay for the systems, they tried to boost yields with heavier loads of fertilizers and chemicals. But now in many areas the groundwater is either depleted or heavily polluted; even in non-irrigated parts of the Midwest groundwater is already dangerously polluted by nitrates and other chemicals. And the Center for Rural Affairs in Walthill, Neb., discovered that in 1986 center-pivot irrigated land made up one-third of the land surrendered to lenders in bankruptcy proceedings, even though it constituted only 6 percent of the state's farmland.

For farmers the drought provides at least one strong argument for cutting back on

chemicals. "If you drove past my farm [near La Crescent, Minn.], it looks just like my neighbor's," observes Ken Tschumper, a fourth-generation dairy farmer who uses no chemicals or artificial fertilizers. "Some of my farm is okay. Some is marginal because of the drought. But I don't have nearly as much on the line as a conventional farmer who has spent \$150 to \$200 an acre on chemicals. If I get wiped out, I don't lose as much. Your peaks aren't as high in good years, but your valleys aren't as low." Last year 10 farmers went to visit a farm near Tschumper's practicing his brand of "sustainable agriculture." This year, with no more publicity, 100 showed up.

The long-term benefits may be greater. Several studies have shown that farmers who rely on natural fertilizers and no chemicals have much richer soil that retains moisture better in dry periods (although even the best soil requires some rain). Crops in such soils that are not chemically treated typically develop four times as large a root structure, an aid in drought.

**Sustainable agriculture:** Madden told of a non-chemical farmer in the heavily irrigated Sand Hills area of Nebraska who consistently produced 30 percent above the county average crop yields without herbicides or irrigation. His well-aerated soil, broken up and nourished by a healthy earthworm population that left behind its rich castings, permitted corn roots to penetrate the clay beneath the powder dry topsoil to reach water in a gravel level below. Lowly earthworm manure as a solution to agricultural problems, however, doesn't boost Monsanto stock, fuel speculation in the Chicago commodity pits or make newspaper headlines.

There are scattered reports that suggest "sustainable agriculture" farmers may be faring somewhat better this year than their more conventional counterparts. Farmers who switched in recent years to the "no-till" methods of minimal cultivation—which reduces some soil loss and saves energy but requires heavy use of chemical weedkillers—may suffer this year since rain is needed to activate the chemicals. Some

farmers have poured on triple the normal dosage at great cost and no result, and the resulting bumper week crop and large residue of herbicide to wash off or leach into the ground may bring new troubles.

Madden is now heading up a federal research project on how farmers can profitably put together sustainable agriculture systems. In most cases these techniques require closer management and careful observation—underscoring the value of mid-sized family farms—but do not require recourse to huge amounts of manual labor. The techniques may simply involve rotating crops periodically with rye, whose roots create a natural weedkiller.

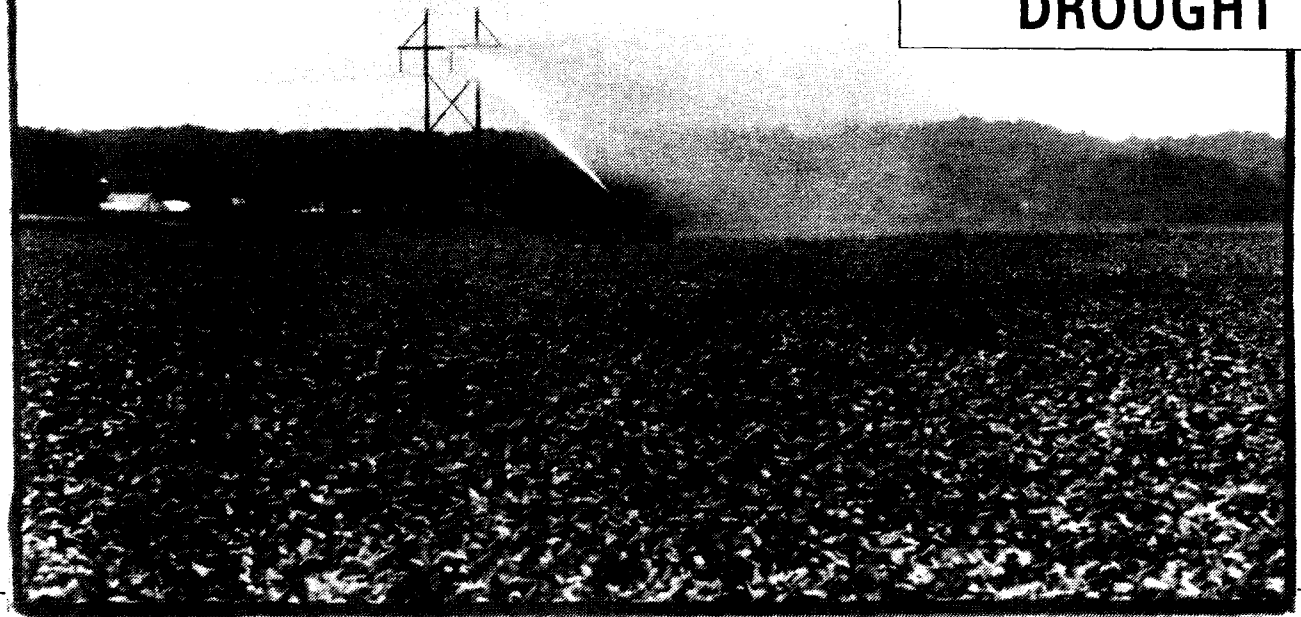
With luck the drought may provoke reassessment of overall governmental policy as well as farming practices. The Reagan administration has dumped low-price exports with the explicit intention of driving down grain reserves, regaining U.S. world market share and undermining agriculture in other countries so they will depend on U.S. exports. Now with grain production in the U.S. and Canada expected to be down by one-fourth, according to Lester Brown of Worldwatch Institute, and big losses in China, the world carryover of grain stocks could drop to a 54-day supply at the end of this year, roughly half the level of early 1987. That could spur food inflation and make it impossible for poorer countries to import grains, making the objective of food security more attractive than the Reaganite vision of a world market under the control of Cargill, one of the largest agricultural conglomerates.

"We've spent billions to boost export volume, and now that turns around and bites us in the ass," observes Minnesota Department of Agriculture trade policy analyst Mark Ritchie. Now, he says, the U.S. will once again be an unreliable supplier with the drought doing more damage than earlier embargoes. The U.S. would do better to maintain hefty reserves, to manage production to give farmers adequate income while practicing sustainable agriculture and to plan for steady, not maximum, trade while encouraging food self-reliance in poor countries.

Surplus has been agriculture's problem in recent years. The drought—with its portent of worse to come if there is a greenhouse effect—should remind us again that the historic and uneradicated human fear has been not having enough to eat.

IN THESE TIMES AUG. 17-30, 1988 9

## DROUGHT



This year's drought may spur needed rethinking of farm practices and policies.

## Averting disaster: the choices facing American agriculture



By Lesley Abukhater

EAST JERUSALEM, OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

**F**OR AN ENGLISH-SPEAKING OBSERVER OF THE Arab-Israeli conflict, the events of early August in the Israeli-Occupied Territories were, if anything, amazing in the number of time-worn clichés they brought to mind.

"Better late than never," most Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip seemed to be saying in response to Jordanian King Hussein's decision to divorce his kingdom from the affairs of the Occupied Territories. Yet, there was still a lingering suspicion that Hussein might have something altogether different up his sleeve, giving credence to the belief, particularly held in the Mideast, that "things are never quite as they seem." And following on the heels of Hussein's declaration, Palestinians and Israelis alike found themselves absorbed with the contents of a document discovered in the home of a prominent Palestinian who Israel has detained. The document called for the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to declare an independent state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and declare itself a government in exile. Once again, observers could only shake their heads, muttering, "when it rains it pours."

**Two ways of looking at it:** Palestinian analysts in the West Bank and Gaza Strip were clearly of two minds following Hussein's July 31 speech. On the one hand, they were witnessing one of the first truly tangible political gains of the ongoing uprising. Hussein was actually bowing to what he called "the popular will" of the occupied Palestinians and removing himself and the so-called "Jordanian option"—a Hussein-brokered settlement in the uprising—from consideration.

The Hashemite monarch, in an act that some Palestinian observers said "if you hadn't known him better could have been considered noble," explained that the Arab world in its 1974 and 1988 summits endorsed the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and therefore it was only fitting that he relinquish his 40-year-old claim to the West Bank of the Jordan River and allow the PLO to take its rightful position in forging both a truly Palestinian identity and a Palestinian state.

Along with this newfound position fell a newfound mantle of responsibility, and that is "the other hand" that Palestinians in the Occupied Territories keep pointing to when discussing Hussein's moves. As sole executor, the PLO would be forced to take responsibility for the administration of the areas, which would include anything from funding housing projects to paying teachers' salaries, and in so doing perform at least as well as, if not better than, Hussein had.

Most Palestinians were obviously pleased at having Hussein put into practice his verbal support for the independent will of the Palestinian people. But they were nevertheless certain that the move was designed to pressure the PLO into proving that it could take care of its own, despite the overwhelming financial difficulties and Israel's certain opposition to increased PLO financing of the Occupied Territories. Many observers believe that the king, by pressuring the Palestinian leaders both politically and financially, is betting that they will fold and come running back to him with a request of joint Palestinian-Jordanian coordination in which he would be able to dictate his own terms. This would put him back in the game as far as the U.S. and Israeli governments are concerned.

10 IN THESE TIMES AUG. 17-30, 1988



A proposed Palestinian "declaration of independence" may give the uprising in the Occupied Territories a push.

## Jordan folds its hand—now PLO holds the cards

Residents all over the Occupied Territories sat glued to TV screens waiting for news of practical steps the king had taken in implementing his decision. First, the Jordanian parliament was dismissed, immediately dissolving the 30 positions reserved for Palestinians from the West Bank. This move in itself caused many to smell a rat. By dissolving the parliament one day before his speech in which he declared an end to Jordanian

assets stored in Jordanian banks, remained unanswered.

**Declaration of independence:** But true to political weather in the Mideast, the Palestinians barely had time to compose opinions for local dailies or begin thinking of ways to exploit this new development in the form of research proposals, before the Israeli right changed the subject by leaking a document discovered in the home of Faisal Hussein, head of the Jerusalem-based Arab Studies Society. Hussein, seemingly a prime target of Israel's ire during the uprising, had just finished a meeting with the Israeli movement Peace Now in which he endorsed the two-state solution and recognition of Israel set down in a controversial proposal by PLO official Bassim Abu Sharif. Hussein was arrested days later and placed under a six-month administrative detention order without charge or trial. (The Abu Sharif document, written by a prominent adviser to PLO Chairman Yassir Arafat, was heralded by many observers earlier in the summer as marking a new era in Palestinian diplomacy. *In These Times* published this earlier document in its June 22 issue.)

The other document, which Israeli authorities claimed Hussein authored, calls for the PLO to unilaterally declare the Occupied Territories the independent Palestinian state and to declare themselves a government in exile. Though the document had been around for a few weeks, and according to Palestinian sources was not authored by Hussein himself, the idea of declaration of independence suddenly overtook Palestinian fears about Hussein's intentions and became instead the barometer by which Palestinians began to measure hopes for their future.

Although the idea of a "government in exile" had been considered years before, many of the more radical factions in the PLO dismissed it as a tactic by which the organization would be trapped into giving up the armed struggle. Nevertheless, almost overnight the possibility of such a declaration not only was unashamedly the main topic

of discussion, but also was welcomed by many.

The PLO said in a statement after Hussein's July 31 speech that it would convene an emergency meeting of the Palestine National Council (PNC) within the month. Observers said declarations of independence, of "government in exile" and of the PNC as the legislative body of the Palestinians would most certainly top the agenda. Then, as if to give meat to the idea, George Habash, the leader of the radical Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, announced on August 9, the day marking the beginning of the ninth month of the Palestinian uprising, that his organization would most certainly back any proposal for the declaration of an independent state. Obviously not wanting to lend credence to the idea among the Palestinians of the Occupied Territories, Israeli television broadcast the Habash statement on the Hebrew news, but not on the Arabic telecast.

**Popular support:** A Palestinian associated with the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine summed up local feeling by saying that if the PLO decided that was the next step to take, Palestinians in the Occupied Territories as well as in the diaspora would support it. Hanna Siniora, editor of the respected Palestinian newspaper *Al-Fajr*, called for at least discussion of the idea in the next emergency PNC meeting.

If the across-the-board response by the Palestinian community is not enough to convince the leadership of the political gain of such a declaration, they can take their cue from the response of the Israeli authorities. The mildest statement Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir has made concerning the idea is to term it "dangerous." At a time when Shamir was obviously ready to sit back and gloat about the demise of opposition leader Shimon Peres' "Jordanian option," he is suddenly running frightened over the idea of a PLO declaration of independence and the push it would give to the Palestinian uprising.

For the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories, it is a time to carefully weigh the opportunities and possible pitfalls, but nevertheless to forge ahead. They can afford to be "cautiously optimistic," as Siniora wrote. The perception here is that there is nowhere to go but up. □

**Lesley Abukhater** directs Jerusalem Visitors Information Bureau, an East Jerusalem public relations office for the Palestinian people.



**T**HE WEST GERMAN GREENS ARE STILL LOOKING for themselves on the uncharted frontiers of the post-industrial world. In 18 months of factional strife between "Realos" (self-proclaimed realists) and "Fundis" (as the Realos call the party's left wing), the *Grünen* have got further and further away from political activity, whether in the movements cherished by the Fundis or in parliament as recommended by the Realos. Instead, they have concentrated on churning out mountains of position papers. Some of them are of high intellectual quality. But what gets through to the public is mainly the monotonous echo of relentless ideological squabbling. It is destroying the Greens' image as a fresh, idealistic force for political renewal.

The Greens met in June for a "perspectives conference" in Bad Godesberg, next to Bonn, to exchange ideas and search for their identity. The anthology of position papers was enriched. The familiar pictures of Green women knitting were captioned with allusions to Green unravelling.

**The scorecard:** The impression of unravelling came from the fact that there were more factions visible at the end of the conference than at the beginning. From right to left, the most clearly defined were the following:

- The Ecolibertarians, keen on free enterprise and willing to demonstrate that "left-right" distinctions are obsolete by joining in coalition with the Christian Democrats.

- The *realpolitik* clan leaders, or "Super-realos." Their main chieftain is Joschka Fischer, former minister of the environment in the one and only "red-green" coalition government between Social Democrats and Greens, in the state of Hesse in 1986. Fischer hopes to return to office at the municipal level in Frankfurt next year. To this end, he is out to transform the entire party at the national level into his idea of a suitable government partner for the Social Democratic Party (SPD). Fischer leads the Frankfurt Realos into factional battle with the same fighting spirit he displayed as a radical street fighter in the early '70s.

- The "Critical Realos": a rebellion in Realo ranks against high-handed Realo chieftains. This current emerged at the conference when Christa Vennegerts spoke out publicly against the "confrontation course" steered by Fischer and his friends.

- The so-called "Centralos" or "Neutrals," united around a position paper *Aufbruch 88* ("Fresh Start 88"). They emerged late last year in an attempt to assert the predominance of the middle against the extreme poles of the Fundi-Realo feud. Often marked by a spirit of Christian reconciliation, the "fresh starters" are faithful to the Green founders' original attempt to synthesize different political and movement tendencies. Their paper diagnosed factional polarization as a split truth: "The bitter truth that basic changes are urgently necessary, but not possible at this time, splits in two, forming factions."

- The "Undogmatic Left," proclaimed at the conference by a number of "Alternatives" and "Ecosocialists," who reject the "Fundis" label foisted on them by the Super-realos. The "Undogmatics" blamed both Realos and Fundis for "overestimating the Greens' possibilities," the Realos by imagining that only Fundis stood in the way of getting into government, the Fundis by demanding "all or nothing," when the relationship of forces was

# The Green dilemma: to be or not to be a Realo

such that the answer could only be nothing. The Undogmatics called for compromise short of sellout.

- Revolutionary Ecosocialists, "hibernating" in the reformist Green party, where they can raise consciousness and resistance to the capitalist system while waiting for a new revolutionary spring. Their most brilliant spokesman is Thomas Ebermann of Hamburg.

- Authentic Fundamentalists, on the watch for "betrayal" by elected Green parliamentarians of maximalist positions espoused by the various movements at the base of the Green party. Jutta Dittfurth's verbal radicalism has made her the movement watchdog on the party's board and won her the role of star "Fundis."

**Safety in numbers:** The proliferation of factions actually was a sign that the major division between Realos and Fundis was unable to split the party in two. The main new currents, the critical Realos and undogmatic left, both represent an effort toward reconciliation in order to save the party from self-destruction.

Yet another example of how Fundi-Realo feuding paralyzes the party arose a couple of weeks before the conference when the Fundi-dominated national board put an ad in the *Frankfurter Rundschau* announcing that: "The Green Bundestag fraction no longer represents the base of their party!" The pretext for this unusual rebuke: the draft amendment to the rape law prepared by the Bundestag Greens set the minimum sentence for convicted rapists at one year instead of two. The Realo-dominated Bundestag fraction had drafted the bill to incorporate feminist principles, reducing "force" to "against the woman's will," and making rape punishable inside marriage, to combat the patriarchal assumption that husbands have sexual rights over their wives. Nevertheless, some feminists objected that setting the punishment at 1-15 years instead of 2-15 years minimized crimes against women.

In the months before the conference, leading Realos made headlines with statements provoking suspicion that they were selling out Green ideals. Hubert Kleinert came out for "ecological capitalism." Joschka Fischer suggested that the Greens should be a better liberal party than the very bourgeois Free Democratic Party (FDP). They drafted and redrafted a "Realo Manifesto" called "To Be or Not To Be," which could be translated as "To Be Realo or Not To Be Anything At All"—the choice they see facing the Green party.

Realo theorizing tends to retreat from advanced Green perceptions to banalities. But Realos are correct in seeing that the radical left has talked and analyzed itself into a corner of inaction. The main problem of the radical left today (as recently noted by 80-year-old French Marxist philosopher Henri Lefebvre) is to find ways to convert negative criticism into constructive proposals. The Realos are at least trying, in an effort all too rare in radical politics, to develop a comprehensive constructive approach to political action.

The trouble is that in the heat of polemics, they are more and more inclined to dismiss the negative criticism of reality that is the wellspring of both revolutionary and reform-

mist motivation.

**Unrealistic Realos:** The Green Party was founded eight years ago as a new sort of party that was to be "ecological, 'base'-democratic, social and non-violent." As the "Fresh Start 88" paper pointed out, it was the tension among these "four pillars" that was the source of the Greens' originality and creativity. Ecological reform had to keep the social dimension in mind, the socialist component had to accept non-violence, and so on. Without this tension, the "Fresh Start 88" paper suggested, the Green movement can break down into diminished and antagonistic special interests. The world ecological crisis raises the possibility of an ecological authoritarianism, antagonistic to democracy and social welfare. This is the sort of pessimistic reflection Realos tend to distort and brush aside in their hurry to be part of the system.

The Realo Manifesto stresses acceptance of the existing political, economic and military alliance system as the necessary framework for an ecological-reform policy. A test issue on which Realos have sought to establish doctrine, the better to expel Fundis for heresy, is devotion to the state as it exists in the Federal Republic. The Manifesto praised the constitution for "opening a new chapter of German democratic culture," even if it was imposed by the Allies. By insisting on establishing an ideological orthodoxy on such matters, the Realos show they are no more purely pragmatic than their adversaries.

In contrast to Realo optimism about established democracy, *Aufbruch 88* sees the danger to democracy coming not from deliberate totalitarian opposition to democratic institutions, but simply from the way objective reality, in the high-tech age, is escaping the subjective control of people and their democratic political process. The dilemma is how to extend democratic control to decisions in matters like nuclear power and gene technology whose effects can be grave and irreparable for generations to come.

As for the economic system, the Realos like *Doonesbury* proclaim that the Cold War is over, and the West has won. In an interview in the Vienna magazine *Wiener*, Fischer said that at a time when the very bastions of the state economy—China and the Soviet Union—are abandoning their mistaken

course, the "entire debate is basically outdated and settled."

In contrast, the *Aufbruch 88* paper states that "the alternative is no longer between 'capitalism or socialism,' market or planned economy," especially since market economies are more and more planned, while state monopoly economies are turning toward market mechanisms. Rather, the tasks of a democratic ecological movement are to democratize economic power, whatever the system, and work for fundamental changes in production and consumption.

**Yuppie power:** Industrial society is historically coming to an end, the Realo Manifesto proclaimed flatly. The political implication is loss of interest in the working class. Top Realos combat Ecosocialist efforts to find common ground with labor, for instance by supporting the 35-hour work week without loss of wages. The Fischer group has concluded that the SPD needs a coalition partner that is not "to its left" in the sense of competing for the working class, but "to its right" in the sense of appealing to the new middle classes. In the *Wiener* interview,

## WEST GERMANY

Fischer suggested that in courting "the bourgeoisie and modern management," the Greens "have advantages over the SPD, because we can be more mobile and undogmatic."

Anybody who "turns up his nose at Yuppies" because they like to earn money and enjoy a certain luxury, said Fischer, must realize that they are the decisive class. "The Yuppies will decide how ecological and social, or how brutal, this country will look in the future."

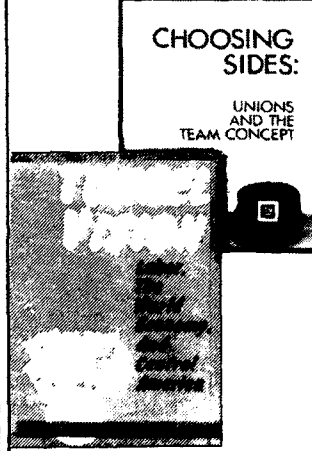
In his contribution to the Realo Manifesto, Udo Knapp, a former leader of the German Socialist Students (SDS), defined the new Green social subject as the "urban, liberal consumerist citizen"—in German, the "*konsumfreundiger citizen*," an expression that provided a choice target for jokes and parody at the Godesberg conference. Use of the French word *citoyen* (citizen) was no doubt meant to emphasize devotion to human rights and the notion of citizenship inherited from the French revolutionary tradition, and thus loyalty to the Western enlightenment, as opposed to obscurantist Fundis. Knapp's consumption-happy citizen is individualistic, concerned primarily with his or her personal life projects, but "nevertheless not only protests against nuclear power and ecological madness but also feels an obligation of solidarity with minorities

Continued on page 22

**SOUTH END PRESS BOOKS**

**for Labor Activists...**

**CHOOSING SIDES:**  
UNIONS AND THE TEAM CONCEPT



**Choosing Sides**  
Unions and the Team Concept  
*Mike Parker and Jane Slaughter*

Promising worker participation and respect, the "team concept"—management's newest labor relations solution to the problems facing U.S. industry—actually brings speed-up, "management by stress," fewer seniority rights, and an undermining of union protection. This new *Labor Notes* book is an indispensable guide for workers and union activists. Illustrated, foreword by Victor Reuther, \$16.00.

**Tunnel Vision**  
Labor, the World Economy, and Central America  
*Daniel Cantor and Juliet Schor*

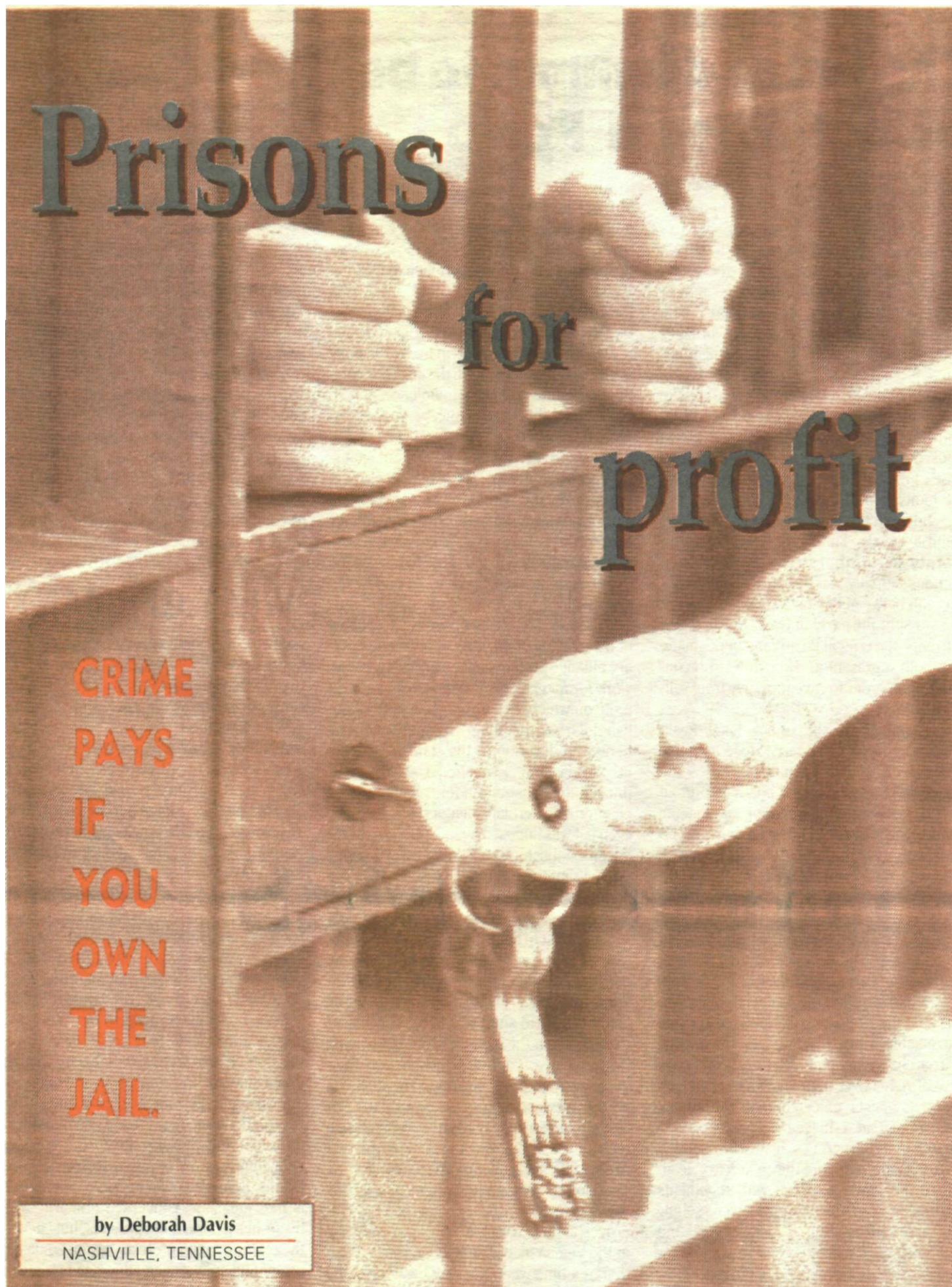
...should be read and discussed by every trade unionist in the country.  
—Barry Bluestone

**See ITT review this issue,** illustrated, \$5.00

**See ITT review this issue,** illustrated, \$5.00

To order, send prepayment (plus shipping charge of \$1.50 for the first book and 50 cents for each additional) to: South End Press, 300 Raritan Center Pkwy., Edison, NJ 08818.





**T**HOMAS BEASLEY SOUNDS LIKE MANY OTHER cocky entrepreneurs when he talks about his field of business. "[It's] not complicated—a bobby pin in its simplicity," he says. "This kind of thing is duck soup for us."

Beasley may use business-as-usual talk, but his business is entirely unusual. He is chairman of the Corrections Corporation of America (CCA), a firm that runs private, for-profit prisons. CCA is the largest and most successful of the private prison companies, running eight prisons and jails in four states—one third of the private prisons in this country.

But what Beasley sees as "duck soup," critics of a burgeoning private-prison movement see as a costly, dangerous and unconstitutional enterprise. They say CCA exemplifies the problems of taking the corrections system out of government hands.

**Cheaper by the dungeon:** The sorry condition of American prisons has created an oppor-

tunity for entrepreneurs like Beasley, who claim they can run American penal systems better and more cheaply than the government.

A holdover from medieval England, privately operated prisons were litigated out of existence in the U.S. 25 years ago because of "dark and evil" practices, as one trial judge put it, of physically abusing inmates and profiting from their labor. But these prisons have been revived by President Reagan's affection for "privatizing" government services and by former Chief Justice Warren Burger's campaign to make prisons into "factories with fences," where inmates would work to offset the costs of their incarceration. Burger is the most prominent advocate of a movement to "transform the terms of the debate" about the purpose of imprisonment, as Craig Becker and Amy Dru Stanley wrote in the June 15, 1985, issue of *The Nation*, "from deterrence and rehabilitation to productiv-

ity and profit."

Private prisons are now run by well-funded corporations. They are being promoted as the answer to lack of money for building new facilities and the consequent inhumane conditions; to overcrowding, inefficiency and waste; to political obstacles to prison reform; and to the growing number of inmate lawsuits. The one problem that private prison managers do not claim to solve is how to rehabilitate criminals instead of simply confining them. In fact, they regard this agonizing question as the basis of a promising growth industry. They are betting on a rising criminal population and high recidivism. So are their stockholders.

Private prisons like the ones CCA operates no longer hire out convict labor. Instead they charge government a daily fee to house and feed inmates. The American Civil Liberties Union has challenged this practice in federal court, arguing that under

the Constitution, only government has the right to deprive people of their liberty. The future of the private prison industry hinges on whether this function may be delegated. Current legal thinking is that government may contract for this service, and government retains ultimate responsibility. So far, no lawsuit has blocked any state or local government from entering into a private prison contract.

"Civil libertarians just don't want any more prison beds," CCA chairman Beasley responds. "And anyone who argues for status quo in corrections is a fool."

**No watchdog:** But critics say the most serious of their concerns has not been the need for more facilities. It has been "the intolerable combination of unaccountability and financial self-interest" in how those facilities are managed, as David N. Wecht wrote in the March 1987 issue of *The Yale Law Journal*. Although public prisons may be poorly run, Wecht says, they still are subject to public scrutiny, political reform and judicial directive, and their directors are not motivated by profit to cut back food, health care or educational programs.

Private prisons, by contrast, are unregulated, since few state and local governments have established strict standards for fear of creating a set of entitlements that would encourage inmate lawsuits. And even if strict standards are enacted, says Wecht, this "does not ensure...implementation," especially "several years after the life of the contract, when...corporate control of the state's penal system may have reached the point that the government no longer has the expertise, personnel, facilities or fiscal resources to run the prisons." More than one local government, after contracting out its prison or jail, has later asked about how it is being run only to be told that such information is "proprietary."

In spite of these drawbacks, many officials see private prisons as a solution to their problems. Caught between court orders to improve their prisons and the unwillingness of taxpayers to pay for such improvements, they welcome the chance to put a corporation between themselves and the prison system. The private-prison option is also enhanced by recent court decisions that hold government officials personally liable for injuries or rights violations of inmates in custody.

CCA has played skillfully on the fears of government officials. The company promises them three things: its prisons will save the taxpayers money; each one will be certified by the American Correctional Association (ACA) and so be at a "constitutional" standard (this is how the company attempts to bypass the issue of whether private prisons are constitutional); and every politician with statutory responsibility will be protected by a multi-million dollar insurance policy that will finance all litigation, pay all claims and judgments and generally insulate them from inmate lawsuits. These three compelling promises are at the core of CCA's appeal and have become the principles of the entire private prison industry. The question is whether these promises, written into every CCA contract, are too good to be true.

**Bribing the "rednecks":** Beasley, a former chairman of the Tennessee Republican Party, started up the Correction Corporation of America by obtaining seed money from the venture capital firm of Massey Burch, which controls a Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) development fund set up to stimulate employment in TVA's service area. Ac-







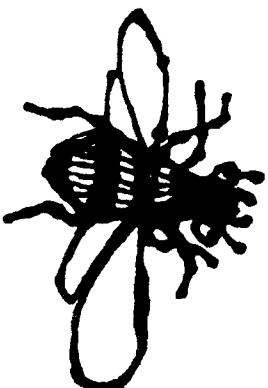
# In These Times SPECIAL SUMMER

## IFT

## SALE!







Take advantage of our SPECIAL SUMMER GIFT OFFER –  
Give one gift, a full 9 months of IN THESE TIMES for only  
\$24.00 (that's \$12.25 off our newsstand price). Get a second  
gift for HALF PRICE—only \$12.00, save \$12.00! Give a third  
gift for half price and save \$24.00, like getting the first gift FREE!  
Just fill out the coupon below and we'll do the rest—  
even send the gift cards!

My Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Send my first gift, 9 full months for only \$24.00 to:

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip XNS80 \_\_\_\_\_

Send my second gift, 9 full months for \$12.00 to:

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip XNS80 \_\_\_\_\_

Send my third gift, 9 full months for \$12.00, to:

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip XNS80 \_\_\_\_\_

☐ Payment enclosed. ☐ Bill me later:  
☐ Charge my MC/Visa  
Acct. # \_\_\_\_\_ exp. date \_\_\_\_\_

Or call toll free 1-800-435-0715.  
In Illinois call 1-800-892-0753.

Offer valid for new subscription orders only.  
Each gift mailed to Canada, please add \$9.75.  
And add \$24.75 for all other foreign orders.

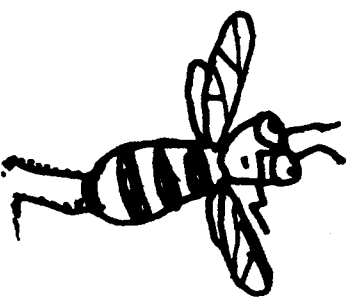


Illustration by Nicole Hollander



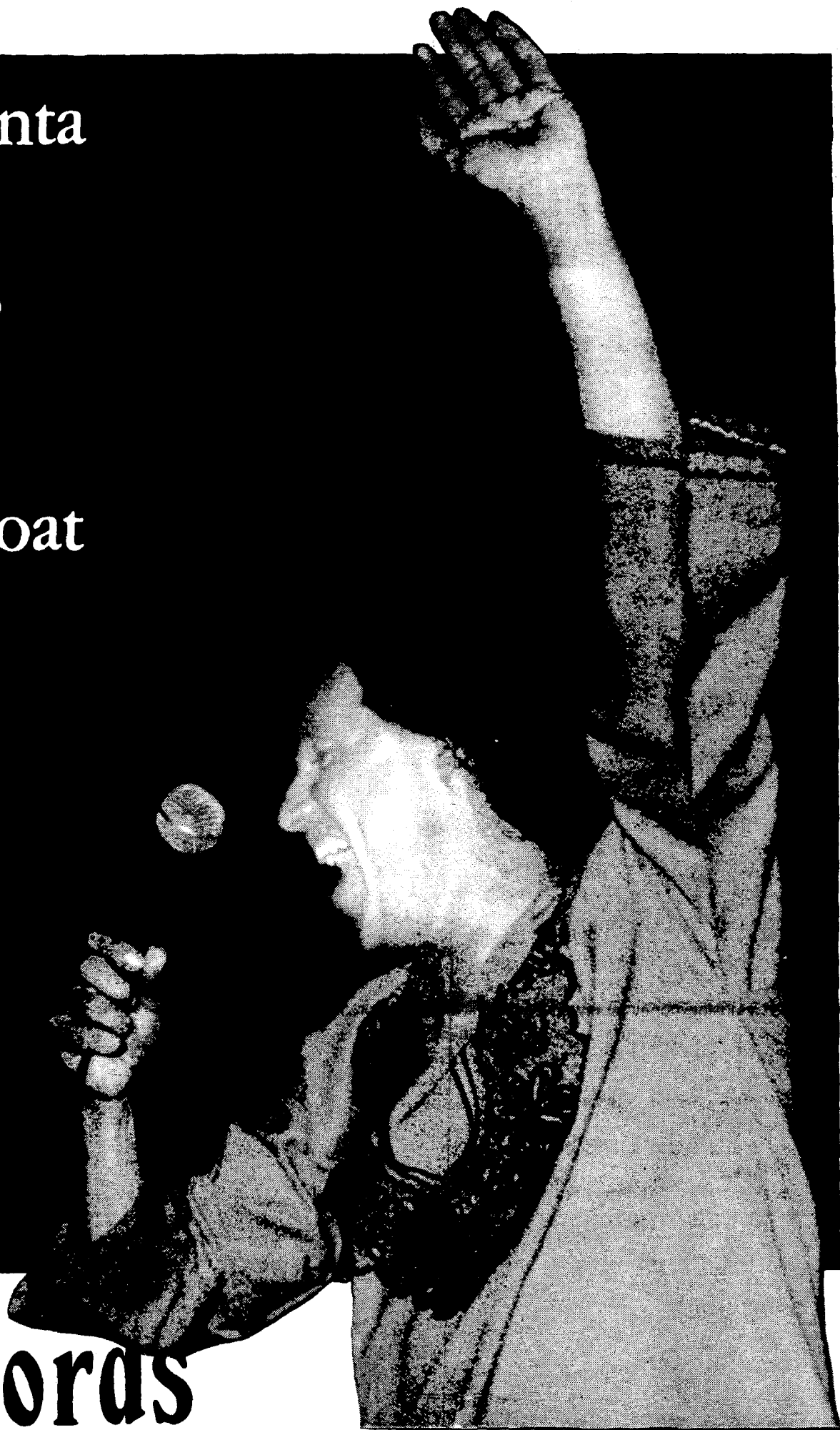
Somos la garganta  
de América,  
El nuevo canto  
de América . . .

We are the throat  
of America,  
The new song  
of America . . .

*Luis Enrique Mejía Godoy*



**paredon records**  
music of liberation from around the world



Qty.	Title	Price	Total

☐ Free catalog.  
☐ Send group rate info.

Subtotal \_\_\_\_\_  
+ Shipping/Handling: 15% \_\_\_\_\_  
+ 6% Tax (Calif. only) \_\_\_\_\_  
Total Amount Enclosed \_\_\_\_\_

Ship Order To:

name \_\_\_\_\_  
address \_\_\_\_\_  
city/state/zip \_\_\_\_\_  
Paredon Record - Dept. I  
PO Box 11260/Oakland CA 94611/USA/(415) 261-7015

**AMANDLA** (Swedish Labour Movement Record Company, 1980)  
First available recording of the premier cultural group of the African National Congress, Amandla. "Receive, then, friends, the rhythmic thudding dance of the advancing fighters for freedom, the songs for national liberation." Fantastic! Translations included. Import. Album or cassette (please specify). \$11.00

**HAITI: KI SA POU-N FE?/ WHAT IS TO BE DONE?** (Atis Indepandan, 1975)  
Expressive music with lyrics the tourist could never imagine. Creole lyrics. Album only. \$9.00

Paredon releases include booklet with lyrics, translations and resource guide.

**EL SALVADOR: POR ESO LUCHAMOS/THIS IS WHY WE'RE FIGHTING** (Cutumay Camones, 1985)  
"The songs of Cutumay Camones are songs of the struggle in El Salvador. Listen to them and you will get to know the people that we often only read about in newspapers."—Holly Near. Album or cassette (please specify). \$9.00

**CUBA: RABO DE NUBE/ TAIL OF A TORNADO** (Silvio Rodriguez, 1982)  
First U.S. solo release by acclaimed poet, singer/songwriter. "Contains some of his finest work." (Colorado Daily) Spanish lyrics. Album only. \$9.00

**NICARAGUA: UN SON PARA MI PUEBLO/A "SON" FOR MY PEOPLE** (Luis Enrique Mejía Godoy & Grupo Mancotal)  
"The voice of the new Nicaragua." —Margaret Randall. "Exuberant" (In These Times) Spanish lyrics. Album only. \$9.00

**NICARAGUA: YO SOY DEL PUEBLO CENCILLO** (Luis Enrique Mejía Godoy, New Society Products, 1984)  
Major volcanto composer joined by Cuba's Sara Gonzalez and others. Spanish lyrics. No translations. Album only. \$10.00

**NOS-OTROS** (Igñi Tawanka, 1986)  
Friends of Nicaraguan Culture  
This outstanding jazz-influenced blend comes from one of Nicaragua's oldest and most sophisticated volcanto groups. Danceable tunes with revolutionary lyrics. Spanish; no translations. Cassette only. \$10.00



cording to Massey Burch associate Bob Fisher, Beasley's idea for making the company profitable was to cut back on the number of prison guards. Massey Burch raised more than \$15 million in private money for CCA, part of which came from the TVA fund. The company's first public stock offering in October 1986 raised another \$16 million.

This strong financial base has enabled CCA to market itself all over the South. But getting contracts has not always been easy. So many of the local officials with whom the company negotiates are "small-minded people, rednecks," says Peggy Wilson, CCA director of investor relations, that "you have to get in and go down to their level" to get a contract. One of CCA's marketing techniques, therefore, has been to give out contracts to local politicians and businessmen, a practice for which Beasley says he makes "no apologies. ... I defy you to find one politician that doesn't receive money from the people [whose contracts] they vote for."

For example, in Chattanooga in 1984, just before the Hamilton County Commission was to vote on CCA's proposal to establish the Silverdale work farm, the company gave contracts directly to three of nine sitting commissioners. One went to a landscaper, the son-in-law of Floyd "Flop" Fuller, the county contract monitor. Beasley also hired Fuller's son, sent him to school to get an insurance license and made him CCA's health-insurance administrator. This "effectively neutralized Fuller as the eyes and ears of the commission," as Howard Sompayrac, the one commissioner who has consistently opposed CCA, has complained. CCA was awarded its Chattanooga contract by an 8-1 vote in late 1984, and the per-diem rate was set at \$21 an inmate. The following year, claiming that it was losing money, CCA won a rate increase to \$22.

The Hamilton County commissioners are under the impression that CCA is losing money on Silverdale, that the company is running the jail as a loss leader, as Beasley tells them, to have Silverdale as a model facility to show to prospective clients. County auditor Bill McGriff, who has been credited with doing the most accurate cost study of private prisons to date, recently told *In These Times* that with all the hidden costs of the contract, the jail now costs the taxpayers about \$3 more per prisoner day than when the county ran it. (McGriff, under pressure from Beasley, now denies this.) Those costs include contract monitoring; medical care for indigent prisoners; debt service on the \$2.3 million in bonds that the county issued for new construction at Silverdale before CCA took over; and the cost of another bond issue that the county would have to float to repay CCA the \$1.5 million it spent on the jail, a cost that McGriff says would be "real, upfront" if the county wanted to cancel the Silverdale contract.

And "this," says McGriff, "is not even counting social costs. You get into social costs, the unemployment for people who are being fired, there comes a time when we're not responsible anymore."

But the commissioners have been unwilling to consider McGriff's figures closely. And Beasley continues to tell them he is running Silverdale at a loss, although he admits privately that "We're not losing money in Chattanooga, not even close." In his spacious Nashville office, he showed *In These Times* a confidential printout revealing that in 1987 his profit on Silverdale was in excess of \$492,000.

**"Hostile takeover":** Winning a Bay County, Fla., contract in 1985 for a work farm outside Panama City, Fla., was more difficult for CCA, because of intense community opposition. "You cannot believe the hostility," says former Bay County Commission chairwoman Helen Ingram. "It was a hostile takeover," CCA's Vice President for Operations David Myers agrees, although the reasons for it mystify him. "These locals can't run their sloppy little jails," he says.

When Beasley was negotiating with the Bay County Commission, he gave a contract for public relations to the woman who had managed Helen Ingram's election campaign. Ingram then helped get a state law changed to allow private jails to be built with public financing. After the law was changed, Bay County retroactively issued low-interest, tax-exempt industrial revenue bonds to pay for the work farm CCA had built; CCA used that money to repay its bank loans and made up the cost of this financing by reducing the county's per diem on 20 of its inmates. The per diem for the rest of the inmates remained at \$29.81. Beasley also hired the current lieutenant governor of Florida, Bobby Brantley, at that time a state legislator, to help ensure that county jails would retain state accreditation if they went private; Brantley saw that such a law was passed.

According to the contract monitor for Bay County, Larry Davis, who once believed that the CCA prison would save tax money, "I can't say that today we're getting detention services any cheaper." But he, too, is certain that "CCA is losing money in Bay County" and that "we have the best liability protection that can be afforded." Beasley's confidential printout shows that for Bay County in 1987, CCA's profit was \$25,000.

The willingness of officials to overlook the higher cost of CCA prisons, to remain incurious about the company's method of making a profit in spite of greater expenses for food and supplies (the counties had access to government surplus; CCA does not), comes out of a desire to benefit from accreditation and to be protected from inmate lawsuits. But CCA's high-profit style of employee management, including "unsafe staffing patterns," as a former CCA executive has said, has made these promises seem increasingly remote. Since "profit is the motivation" in private corrections, this ex-official says, it is inevitable that the staff will suffer, since "staffing makes up 70-80 percent of the total cost."

In contrast to their openness about prisoner policies—which are watched by civil libertarians, the press and the courts—CCA executives will not go into detail about employee matters. They are disdainful of concerns about what happens to the guards when a prison is turned over to CCA, although the guards lose their pensions, their state-mandated coverage for stress-related ailments and their state social security. CCA does not offer these guards a pension, but contributes stock for retirement equal to 2 percent of an employee's salary the first year and 1 percent the second year, after which the company's lifetime obligation to the employee is fulfilled. For a guard earning \$8,000 a year, the company's total contribution to his retirement is about \$480 worth of CCA stock, the actual value of which fluctuates with the stock market. The stock sold in 1986 at \$9 a share. As *In These Times* went to press, it was worth less than \$1 per share.

One serious criticism of CCA has been the high employee-turnover rate, a prob-

lem aggravated when CCA blocked its employees' efforts to unionize. The turnover rate is 70 percent a year, according to Howard Sompayrac, chairman of the Hamilton County Commission, or more than 200 percent for the three and a half years CCA has been running Silverdale. That figure is confirmed by former assistant warden Lee Hanley, who says, "We went through better than 100 people" in the year and a half he was there. When the Hamilton County commissioners recently questioned David Myers about the turnover rate, Myers told them, "We don't count people who work less than 90 days."

Although CCA says that employee turnover is irrelevant to the fact that "we have a constitutional standard, we guarantee accreditation," as Beasley insists, the reality is that at CCA, the constant firings, the constant turnover of guards, the "management by fear," as Tennessee Corrections Institute trainer Jim Coleman puts it, is precisely the reason that neither Silverdale nor the Bay County work farm has yet been accredited.

"Whether people believe it or not," says Coleman, "they're in the prison business to make money."

One guard at Silverdale was fired after reporting to the commission that CCA was charging the county for full prisoner days



for prisoners released in the morning. This was not an aberration—the warden at CCA's facility in Panama City says he charges the county for a full prisoner-day if he has a prisoner for four hours.

**The \$20,000 life:** At the time Lee Hanley was fired, ostensibly for authorizing substitutions on the menu when the kitchen ran out of food, he had been working to get Silverdale accredited. His program would have included adequate training for guards, the lack of which is a key reason for the high turnover. With Hanley's departure, the program was discontinued. Hanley, originally hired as a trainer, says he was "not a certified trainer" at the time he trained guards for CCA. "I had to take my guidance wherever I could get it," he says. "There was not a lot of follow-up to see if I was doing it right. I would send records to Nashville to the one certified trainer for his signature."

Another firing ended the plans of former chief legal counsel Richard Crane to set up an inspection division within CCA. Crane, who wrote the training curriculum for the National Institute of Corrections and trained the chief trainers from all 50 state corrections departments, had urged that CCA inspect all of its facilities every six weeks, both for physical safety and to see if training policies were being followed.

Beasley fired him in December 1987, saying he needed a member of a politically connected Texas law firm for his chief legal counsel.

Crane says that CCA's talk about accreditation is misleading. If an inmate sues for violation of his constitutional rights, he says, "you just can't go up to court and wave your ACA accreditation and say, 'We're not guilty.' There are plenty of facilities that are sued that have accreditation. ACA standards are heavy on paper work, do you have a policy for such and such? What if you have one but don't follow it? Having the policy doesn't mean you know what to do."

A case in point was the death early this year of Rosalyn Bradford, a black woman prisoner at Silverdale who died of complications of a tubal pregnancy after guards, believing she was faking, let her scream in her cell for 18 hours before taking her to the hospital. The CCA prospectus, in language repeated almost verbatim in the contracts, pledges that "employees must undergo at least 160 hours of training by the company before being allowed to work in a position that will bring them in contact with inmates." But Joyce Taylor, the guard who attended Rosalyn Bradford, says that she, like many others, was put to work a few hours after being hired, and that she did not receive first-aid training until the week after Bradford died in late January. Taylor's American Red Cross certificate for standard first aid and basic CPR is dated Feb. 4, 1987.

When Bradford died, Richard Crane, still at CCA, offered her family a \$10,000 settlement; "a life like that," he says, "is worth about \$20,000." Bradford's mother turned down the offer and has filed a \$100 million lawsuit for negligence, denial of medical care and violation of her daughter's constitutional rights. She is suing not only CCA but also the Hamilton County executive and the nine members of the county commission who had expected to be insulated by the CCA contract. The lawsuit alleges that the doctor under contract to CCA failed to examine Bradford or perform a pregnancy test "because of cost consciousness." Beasley says about the woman's death, "We are very comfortable with our position on it and with what our people did. The Bradford suit worries me only in the PR sense."

There have been no deaths at the CCA jail in Panama City, except for one man who escaped and then drowned in the bay. But there, too, training is inadequate. According to Leon Lowry, chief of the Bureau of Standards for the Florida State Criminal Justice Standards and Training Commission, CCA hires 40 percent of its correctional officers on temporary employment authority (TEA), four times as many as the state average. Lowry says that the TEAs, which are by statute to be issued "only under emergency circumstances," apparently enable CCA to evade the state's strict training requirements. He says, "You just can't use a TEA to hire somebody and put him to work; that would be an extreme liability situation." David Myers says that in Panama City, the company will probably not "meet the October [1988] deadline" for accreditation. "It's a pretty involved process," he says, "lengthy and expensive, and some of the ACA policies aren't what we go by." He would not say how CCA's policies differ from those of the American Correctional Association.

**Insurance:** In addition to the constant firings, the lack of training, the cost-cutting,

*Continued on page 22*



# EDITORIAL



## Dukakis muffs question of his mental health

We must confess that the brouhaha about Michael Dukakis' mental health, and whether or not he ever made the fatal error of seeking therapy, left us disturbed. We haven't yet sought professional help, though. After all, political office remains always a secret dream and we wouldn't want to destroy our chances by committing such a major blunder. Even so, the whole shabby episode is depressing.

The least distressing aspect of the events of two weeks ago was President Reagan's response to a question—by a follower of right-

wing nut Lyndon LaRouche—about whether Dukakis should disclose his health information. Manufactured as an issue by the LaRouchies, Dukakis' mental stability had been seized on by journalists all too eager to substitute trivia for substance in the presidential campaign. For his part, Reagan, having no cue card on which to base his answer to this question, offered up a bit of the sleaze that radiates from his brain down through all levels of his administration. "Look, I'm not going to pick on an invalid," he said.

This, of course, was crassly insensitive, but it was Reagan's own mind at work and was therefore not surprising. Nor was it surprising that the media generally played down Reagan's statement, or that Dukakis chose not to make an issue of the president's gaffe. Dukakis no doubt shares the view that it is more important to preserve popular reverence for the office than to expose the bumbling old fool who will soon vacate it. "No apology was needed, really," Dukakis said. "We all occasionally misspeak.... These things happen occasionally."

Nor can Dukakis be blamed for being cautious. Reagan is a popular president, despite the unpopularity of virtually all his programs and the widespread corruption among his subordinates. For seven years the media has done its best to obscure the reality of Reagan in order to enhance his image. Dukakis knows better than to challenge the media on this point.

Instead, Dukakis denied that he had sought psychiatric help when he was depressed about his brother's accidental death in 1973 or after his defeat for re-election as governor of Massachusetts in 1978. And he had his personal physician release his health records, which show him to be sound in mind and body. No problem here, either. We're pleased that he's in such good shape.

But it was depressing—and not even good politics—for Dukakis unquestioningly to accept the idea that availing oneself of therapy is a sign of incompetence or instability. After all, psychotherapy is one of our fastest growing industries. Millions of Americans have sought or are now receiving treatment, and the vast majority of them are not only productive and responsible citizens, but also voters. Someone who was less cautious and more principled would have responded much more forcefully to these charges than did Dukakis. He or she would have said, "As it happens, I have not sought therapy, but there would have been nothing wrong if I had. Indeed, many of those who have been treated by therapists are more stable and responsible than those who avoid it. This is not a legitimate issue in politics."

If Dukakis had said something like that, we would have been much more reassured than by simply knowing he's never visited a shrink. ■

## Too much is enough in Central America

Despite increasing resistance even from its client regimes in Central America, the Reagan administration continues doggedly to pursue its vendetta against Nicaragua. And because the crazed neocolonialists in the State Department and the White House are relentless, while Democratic opponents are motivated by what they consider political realism rather than principle, the war is continuing, both on the military front and in Nicaragua's civil society. When it comes to aiding the CIA's army, still camped in Honduras in violation of the Central American peace plan, Democratic senators just can't say no. Their excuse is that they can't trust Daniel Ortega to abide by the terms of the peace plan, but the truth is just the opposite.

Given Nicaragua's obviously overwhelming difficulties, brought on in large part by the Reagan administration's illegal war, the old line that the Sandinistas represent a threat of intervention against its neighboring "democratic" regimes can no longer be used. Instead, in the past two weeks Secretary of State George Shultz dredged up an obsolete line of goods. In Uruguay on August 4 he said that "Nicaragua is a threat to the United States, not for what it might do, but because of the power of the Soviets, who are building airstrips there that could pose a problem."

"There exists a cancer," he said, "which we have to cut out, and we're going to do everything possible to stop its growth." Yet despite the secretary's strong language, he was unable to get Uruguayan leaders to join him in a statement against Nicaragua.

In Ecuador on August 10 things went even worse for Shultz. There to attend the inauguration of Rodrigo Borja as the country's new president, he had to share the spotlight with Fidel Castro and Ortega—and to look at a recently unveiled mural in the meeting hall of Ecuador's Congress that prominently displays a skull with a Nazi

helmet containing the letters CIA. Just to make things perfectly clear, Ecuador's leading artist, Osvaldo Guayasamin, explained that the political violence depicted in his mural was largely the result of CIA activity. And to add injury to insult, President Borja, who is a vice president of the Socialist International and head of Ecuador's Democratic Left Party, intends to renew diplomatic relations with Nicaragua. They had been cut off by his predecessor, Leon Febres Cordero, who was the Reagan administration's closest ally in South America.

U.S. relations with Costa Rica's President Oscar Arias Sanchez have also deteriorated. The *New York Times* reported August 7 that the administration has been constantly frustrated by Arias. A former staff member of the National Security Council told the *Times* that State Department leaders "have a low opinion of [Arias] that borders on despising him. And Arias reciprocates. He has a low opinion of the Reagan administration." For his part, Arias wrote recently that he proposes to show "that a well-founded friendship between two brother peoples allows us to agree at times but also to differ; that when the small one always does what the big one wants this is not friendship but slavery." And Arias, along with Guatemala's President Vinicio Cerezo, has refused—despite considerable arm-twisting—to join Shultz and call for renewed contra aid.

Even in Honduras, the most subservient of the administration's client states, anti-American sentiment is growing as a result of the country's near-occupation by the U.S. Army and the U.S.-enforced presence of contra bases on the Honduran side of its border with Nicaragua. Recent anti-American violence has included the burning of the U.S. consulate in Tegucigalpa by 1,000 protesters on April 7 and a grenade attack that wounded four U.S. soldiers on July 17.

All this goes to show that the Reagan policies are not only wrong in principle, but that they are also obsolete. If continued they can only destroy the little good will that still exists for the United States south of the border. The Reagan neocolonialists are too far gone to recognize this, but there is still time for congressional Democrats to wise up and just say no to any more contra aid. ■

## IN THESE TIMES

"...with liberty and justice for all"

Editor: James Weinstein

Managing Editor: Sheryl Larson

Senior Editors: Patricia Aufderheide, John B. Judis, David Moberg

Assistant Managing Editor: Miles Harvey

Culture Editor: Jeff Reid

Associate Editor: Salim Muwakkil

European Editor: Diana Johnstone

In Short Editor: Joel Bleifuss

Copy Editor: Frieda Gordon Landau

Staff Writer: Jim Naureckas

Editorial Promotions: Maggie Garb

Researcher: Joan McGrath

Interns: Leslie H. Cole, Liana Fruchtmann, Reece L. Pendleton

California correspondent: Kathryn Phillips

Art Director: Miles DeCoster

Associate Art Director: Peter Hannan

Assistant Art Director: Lisa Weinstein

Photo Editor: Paul Comstock

Typesetter: Jim Rinnert

Publisher: James Weinstein

Co-Business Managers:

Louis Hirsch, Finance

Donna Thomas, Data Processing Accounting

Advertising Director: Bruce Embrey

Office Manager: Theresa Nutall

Circulation Director: Chris D'Arpa

Assistant Director: Greg Kilbane

Concert Typographers: Sheryl Hybert

*In These Times* believes that to guarantee our life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, Americans must take greater control over our nation's basic economic and foreign policy decisions. We believe in a socialism that fulfills rather than subverts the promise of American democracy, where social needs and rationality, not corporate profit and greed, are the operative principles. Our pages are open to a wide range of views, socialist and non-socialist, liberal and conservative. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the authors and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 472-5700

Member: Alternative Press Syndicate

The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright © 1988 by Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Copies of *In These Times* contract with the National Writers Union are available upon request. Complete issues of *In These Times* are available from University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI. Selected articles are available on 4-track cassette from Freedom Ideas International, 640 Bayside, Detroit, MI 48217. All rights reserved. *In These Times* is indexed in the Alternative Press Index. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. All correspondence should be sent to: *In These Times*, 1300 W. Belmont Ave., Chicago, IL 60657. Subscriptions are \$34.95 a year (\$59 for institutions; \$47.95 outside the U.S. and its possessions). Advertising rates sent on request. Back issues \$3; specify volume and number. All letters received by *In These Times* become property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1912 Debs. Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054.

This issue (Vol. 12, No. 32) published Aug. 17, 1988, for newsstand sales Aug. 17-30, 1988.



# LETTERS

## Sleaze

**J**OHAN B. JUDIN'S PIECE ON THE SLEAZE IN WASHINGTON (*ITT*, July 20) attributes part of the problem to the increasing cost of congressional elections and the devices members of Congress are tempted to use to meet these costs. He also discusses congressional proposals to deal with the problem. He neglects one aspect of the problem that I suggest is a major aspect and ought to be dealt with summarily.

It goes back to the Dewey-Truman campaign in 1948. One of my listening posts, a member of a reactionary think tank, told me during the campaign that Dewey was revolutionizing American politics. Elections will never be the same again, he exulted. The reason: television.

Dewey lost because there were still more whistle-stops than TV sets in 1948, and while Dewey was making TV appearances every hour on the hour, Truman was addressing crowds from the rear of his campaign train at all those stops across the country. But my source's prediction was correct.

Television has since taken over, but Congress has neglected to deal with it as a major factor in elections. There is no reason why this government-franchised industry should be allowed to levy upon the electoral process. Commercial political advertising should be forbidden. Objective political reporting should be expected of the industry, and the performance of the individual stations and the networks should be measured each time their licenses are considered.

Fredrick S. Gram  
St. Paul, Minn.

## Chicano bias

**I**N HIS ARTICLE "GREAT EXPECTATIONS FOR LATINO poll power" (*ITT*, July 6), Ruben Martinez displays a Chicano-bias that distorts his overall analysis of Latino electoral behavior this year and its implications. Contrary to his generalizations based on the Chicano experience, Puerto Ricans in the Northeast gave broad support to Jesse Jackson in his bid for the Democratic nomination for the presidency.

For example, in New York City his support among Puerto Ricans and other Latinos grew from 32 percent in 1984 to 53 percent in 1988. In addition, in contrast to 1984 when no major Puerto Rican elected officials in New York endorsed him, in 1988 they all did. The fact that Jackson's nomination for president at the Democratic convention this year was seconded by the only Puerto Rican woman elected to major public office in New York, State Sen. Olga Mendez, is reflective of the key role played by the Puerto Rican community in his campaign.

Angelo Falcón  
President, Institute for Puerto Rican Policy  
New York

## Shocked

**I** WAS SHOCKED AT YOUR PRINTING THE LETTER BY J. Herbert (*ITT*, June 22). The letter referred to a comic drawing, "American Leftists" (*ITT*, May 11) which Herbert described as "far-out commie freakos." Herbert then wrote, "Don't these characters portrayed in the cartoon... well... look Jewish?" Apparently Herbert thought this ironic because the remainder of the letter was devoted to a characterization of the political opinion of all American Jews as right-wing extremists.

What can one say about the simultaneous wholesale portrayal of American Jews as "commie freakos" and as right-wing extremists? Here is the essence of prejudice. I cannot understand a publication like *In These Times* pandering to it.

Among Jews one may find a wide range of political opinions. This is hardly surprising. Thus it is improper to pigeonhole the political opinion of all American Jewry on virtually any political subject. Attempts to characterize Jewish opinion in general by reference to the individual opinions of certain American Jews (which was precisely Herbert's tactic) is simply illogical and foolish.

It is valid, of course, to attempt to identify trends or currents of opinion among American Jewry. Reputable survey research has revealed that an unusually high proportion of American Jews hold left-liberal views and support liberal candidates. Thus one may reasonably speak of tendencies of opinion among American Jews. These tendencies fit neither of Herbert's stereotypes, nor can tendencies justify characterization by means of stereotype.

Mark Gold  
President, Americans for Progressive Israel  
New York

**Editor's note:** Printing a letter is not pandering to the opinions it expresses.

## The non-vote logic

**T**HE DEMOCRATIC PARTY PLATFORM RECALLS J.A. Hobson's definition of imperialism as "the use of the machinery of government by private interests to secure for them economic gains outside their country." And, of course, inside, in a platform made to the orders of the Democratic Party standard bearers, Plastic Mike and Oily-McCarthyite-Warmonger-Atom-Bomb-Happy Lloyd. You include Jesse Jackson, in which case the hierarchy of the Democratic ticket is Jackson, Dukakis and Bentsen, if you think Jackson didn't sell out, or Dukakis, Bentsen and Jackson if he did. In the latter case Jackson will be inside a Dukakis White House in white gloves opening the front door for the predatory gentry behind the clone.

Yet in your August 3 issue you urge black and white, and red and brown and yellow, lib-labs to vote and campaign for this Democratic Party. All they need do is rouse up their self-hate, abandon the logic in their pride and principles, and become—if Hobson's definition is right—tail-wagging fascists, by a rather strict interpretation.

To protest the Democratic Party's sell out, and for a more honest social hypocrisy and moral cowardice, may we suggest the lib-labs vote for George Bush. What possible harm can result when by Dukakism the Republicans and Democrats are political,

economic, social clones (Republicrats and Democats) with basically identical political, social and economic consequences, other than welfare used by Democrats for vote-getting. Or as happily—for a plague on both their houses—organize the largest non-vote protest ever.

Richard T. Tench  
Portland, Ore.

## Reagan-Iran connection

**J**ONATHAN SILVERS AND I ARE CURRENTLY DOING a book for Viking Press on the 1988 campaign. In an early letter exchange with former President Jimmy Carter we were stunned when he too believed there had been contact between Reagan-Bush campaign officials and Iranians concerning the delay of hostages before the 1980 election ("In Short," July 20).

We spent four months tracking this story as far as it could go. The results of that investigation resulted in a 9,000-word article that will appear in *Playboy's* October issue. Leads from *In These Times* (June 24, 1987) helped in our quest for a piece that counts on common sense, interviews with high-ranking officials in both governments and documents already available to the public.

The evidence was good enough to satisfy the legal staff of the magazine, which is staring down a \$20 million libel suit. I am prohibited by a reporter's oath to scoop our own story, but let me say that if this doesn't take 100,000 votes away from Bush, I'll eat the entire issue. In point of fact, we believe the Ayatollah Khomeini has been voting in U.S. elections since 1980, and still is! On June 10 the *Wall Street Journal* ran an "October Surprise" article citing a National Security staff memo by Robert Oakley warning that Iran was about to try using the nine hostages in Lebanon as political pawns in the Bush-Dukakis race.

Now as we head toward the Republican convention, Iran, after declaring that it was ready to fight 100 years, suddenly agrees to a cease-fire with Iraq. Within two days of that announcement, the White House dispatches a team to Tehran. As we head toward the election, do not be surprised if nine Beirut hostages come back in time for a photo opportunity with Reagan and Bush before November. Reagan has a flair for theatrical timing. Hardly coincidentally, the hostage release in January 1980 took place minutes after he placed his hand on the Bible to be sworn in as president.

Hostage-taking has incredible symbolic meaning in the world of global electronic communication. Contrary to the pontifications of politicians about it having no effect, its effectiveness was displayed in our 1980 election and in the recent French election.

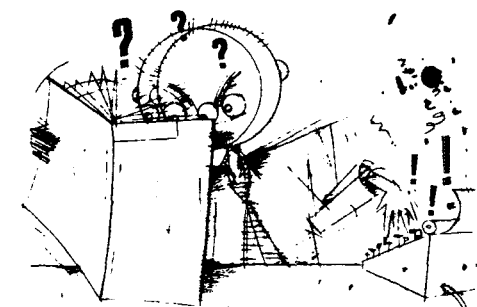
Winning hostage release demonstrates that a superpower has regained its potency. So while Dukakis calmly campaigns for "competence," Bush, if they pull off another hostage release, will show his potency and eliminate doubts about his manhood.

I'm not sure this will be enough to win in November, but after spending months researching what was missing in the "Tower Omission" report (*ITT*, March 11, 1987), I'm convinced this is their strategy. Khomeini's too. Though currently his army gets most of its military hardware from China, it still relies heavily on U.S.-manufactured parts—especially for F-14 fighter planes and tank battalions—and sophisticated guidance systems for missiles. Khomeini has been fighting a tough war and dealing with a friendly (despite its rhetoric and recent fleet maneuvers) U.S. regime for eight years. From his point of view, a change to the Democrats is too unknown, especially as Irangate's gory details start to emerge.

The article I mentioned above is scheduled to appear in different publications in more than 35 countries. Its estimated readership is more than 80 million with 10 million in the U.S. Channel 4 in England is working on a full-length documentary on the subject, and we are working on a special October surprise of our own that goes beyond the printed word. As Alexander Haig put it so aptly in a primary debate: "Come on, George, you know an awful lot more."

Let's hope Dukakis and the press corps push this issue higher up the agenda ladder.

Abbie Hoffman  
Solebury, Pa.



## Correction

In its August 3 edition, *In These Times* ran a photo that, we are informed, does not represent the current environmental situation in New Salem, Mass. It was not *In These Times'* intention to impugn New Salem or its board of health.

## SYLVIA



## by Nicole Hollander





By Andre Astrow

**E**LECTION YEARS ALWAYS SEEM TO BRING new life to the anti-apartheid lobby in the U.S., and this year is no exception. Following a long lull in anti-apartheid activity on Capitol Hill, the pro-sanctions/disinvestment movement is once again building up a full head of steam.

But so far—beyond the hoopla that surrounded passage of the 1986 Anti-Apartheid Act in Congress—the sanctions campaign has, in reality, been a dismal failure. Of course, pro-sanctions lobbyists can always point out that they are campaigning fervently for more comprehensive legislation, and recently succeeded in gaining the approval of the House Foreign Affairs Committee for a bill that would bar all U.S. investment in South Africa and impose a near-total trade embargo. But backers of the legislation already concede that the chances of gaining the Senate's support are slim, which will likely bring the sanctions initiative back to square one.

Unlike the sanctions campaign, however, the anti-apartheid movement's call for disinvestment has seemingly been more successful, given the exodus of some 140 U.S. firms from South Africa over the past five years. Yet greater scrutiny unfortunately reveals quite a different story. The sad truth is this: the much-publicized disinvestment of U.S. companies has conspicuously failed to pressure the Botha government to give an inch, let alone to begin dismantling apartheid altogether.

Part of the problem is that anti-apartheid militants have long been reluctant to seriously question the viability of the disinvestment sanctions strategy. So far, it has been enough to defend the strategy by pointing out that the Reagan administration, Margaret Thatcher's Tory government—and, of course, the Botha regime itself—all condemn the disinvestment sanctions campaign.

But apartheid foes should also face the fact that the case for disinvestment and sanctions, which seems to make a great deal of sense in the abstract, inevitably unravels in practice because the success of this strategy depends upon the cooperation of precisely those who have no interest in bringing down apartheid. Worse still, the entire disinvestment debate serves ultimately to hand over all anti-apartheid initiatives to Western governments and multinational corporations, and implies that they can act as a progressive force for change in South Africa.

For those who think such criticisms may be going too far—because it ignores the "progress" made by the anti-apartheid movement over the years—and for those who believe that the problem has been their inability to muster the necessary resources to make this strategy work, a more detailed look at the reasons behind corporations' "pull-out" from South Africa is needed.

**Evasive dominoes:** One by one, many of the major U.S. multinationals have fallen like dominoes, often announcing with great fanfare that they were pulling out of South Africa because of Botha's failure to reform the apartheid system. The anti-apartheid movement, having based its strategy on moral opposition to apartheid, has welcomed these grandiose corporate statements with open arms and taken much cred-

## Disinvestment is a dead end in South Africa

it for the exodus by U.S. firms.

According to the Washington-based Investor Responsibility Research Center, 96 American corporations—many of them making little or no profit—have pulled out of South Africa over the past two years. But the vast majority of these have either sold out to local interests, sold their assets to companies of third nations or created trusts with reacquisition options, later signing licensing, royalty and technology transfer agreements to enable them to continue profiting from the sale of their products or services.

The fact is, putting moral pressure to bear on Western corporations has not, and will not, force them to pull out of South Africa, and it is somewhat naive to imagine that foreign companies with profitable operations in the country will close up shop simply because they find themselves under fire from morally outraged people at home. In fact, multinational corporations have historically been attracted to South Africa because of apartheid, not in spite of it. Such an oppressive system has guaranteed their operations with a steady supply of cheap black labor and enabled them to make huge profits at the expense of the black majority.

For too long, the debate in the U.S. has been narrowly focused on the pros and cons of disinvestment. Apologists for American corporations have usually promoted the flimsy proposition that it is preferable to remain in South Africa in order to act as a buffer against the excesses of the apartheid system. Often posing as a progressive force for change, foreign firms have argued that by pulling out, they would be less able to influence events inside South Africa, and that black workers would be the most likely ones to suffer.

Some people may find this sudden concern for the well-being of black South Africans quite touching, but one could be forgiven for remaining rather skeptical as to why the same firms that established business ties with Pretoria in the first place and helped prop up apartheid for all these years would now allow "moral responsibility" to dictate how they run their business operations. In reality, Western firms' demands for change have never arisen out of any concern with the plight of the black majority; changing conditions within South Africa have simply forced them to favor reforms as the only way to defend their investments.

Unfortunately, the shallowness of this corporate window dressing has merely encouraged anti-apartheid militants, who genuinely support the struggle of black South Africans, to suggest more of the same but in stronger doses. Calling on corporations to sever all ties with apartheid when they have no interest in doing so, or asking Capitol Hill to impose sanctions that bite against companies that play a key role in preserving American interests in the region, is no more likely to succeed than pleading with Botha to have a heart—asking him to introduce black majority rule because it is the morally correct thing to do.

In fact, if one looks beyond the corporations' public-relations rhetoric, it is only too clear that the real reasons for Western firms' withdrawals have little to do with anti-apartheid pressure and much to do with deteriorating conditions inside South Africa.

**Domestic instability:** In a nutshell, the oppressive character of apartheid has provoked massive resentment and revolt domestically, producing an inherently unstable situation that ultimately threatens the entire South African economic system. Unrest has cut into the vast profits that many foreign companies have traditionally squeezed out of apartheid, and brought home an understanding that the form of their relationship with South Africa has to change in light of political instability and spiraling uncertainty. A few examples should suffice to illustrate how the multinationals are trying to pull the wool over the public's eyes.

Some corporations like Coca Cola have chosen to "withdraw" from apartheid while retaining access to the country's lucrative markets through a series of complex financial arrangements. By selling off its local bottling plant and distribution network to Amalgamated Beverage Industries (ABI), a South African company, and announcing that its syrup would no longer be manufactured in the country, the soft-drink giant technically has cut its corporate links with apartheid.

Why ABI would be interested in acquiring the bottling plant without availability of the syrup—the key to Coke's success—became clear only when Coca Cola later revealed it was relocating to neighboring Swaziland, where a new syrup manufacturing factory was being built. From there, the syrup makes its way back to ABI, ensuring that Coca Cola's profits are protected and its markets preserved, while having the advantage of maintaining a lower profile in the country. Despite appearances to the contrary, things in South Africa continue to go better with Coke.

Companies like IBM and General Motors have taken the management buyout route, selling their operations to local managers, which has enabled them to keep a solid foot in the door. At the same time as IBM was cynically announcing its "withdrawal" from South Africa, it took out full-page advertisements reassuring customers that its entire range of products and services would still be widely available in the country. As IBM President John Akers once made clear, "If we elect to leave it will be a business decision. What other kind of decision would it be? We are not in business to conduct socially responsible action. We are in business to conduct business."

GM was no less subtle, writing into its sales agreement a special clause allowing the motor company to buy back its South African interests at a later date when the political and investment climate has improved. By selling its South African subsidiary to the executives of its local com-

pany, GM has been able to maintain exclusive licensing and distribution contracts with the new owners of their former subsidiary.

It gets worse. By selling off their local subsidiaries, U.S. corporations like IBM and GM have benefitted from no longer even being bound by the mildly restrictive—and now largely discredited—Sullivan Principles, whose only positive function has been to protect black workers from the worst excesses of the Botha regime. As a result, the new companies can now dispense with the lip service that the Sullivan code paid to improving conditions of black workers in South Africa—a code that has been used for more than a decade as a cover for U.S. businesses to justify making enormous profits.

**An alternative:** As long as the thrust of the anti-apartheid movement's campaign is limited to calling on Western governments and firms to lead the fight against the Pretoria regime, solidarity with the struggle of black Africans is doomed to remain ineffective. Anti-apartheid activists who genuinely want to help bring down the Botha government could find that their efforts to put the squeeze on South Africa would be much more rewarding if, for example, they shifted their energy to campaigning within the labor movement for embargoing arms and goods to Pretoria.

The recent refusal by British dockworkers in Liverpool to handle shipments of uranium hexafluoride originating from Namibia is a case in point. In February, members of the Transport and General Workers' Union refused to load four containers of uranium bound for an enrichment plant in the U.S. as part of a wider policy stand in support of the struggle for Namibian independence. On a larger scale, direct solidarity action of this kind could prove to be a much more effective weapon in hurting the apartheid regime than any circumventable sanctions or corporate "withdrawals."

In the past, however, the anti-apartheid movement has dismissed such a strategy as unrealistic, pointing to the alleged difficulty in convincing American workers to back the struggles of their black counterparts in South Africa. But what is so realistic about campaigning to get Western governments and multinational corporations to promote change in South Africa, when more than a quarter century of mobilizing for sanctions has produced so few tangible results? The most effective form of solidarity that anti-apartheid organizers in the U.S. can offer to those fighting white rule in South Africa is mobilizing Americans to challenge their government's policies in that part of the world—not encouraging it to play a more active and "progressive" role.

Over the years, anti-apartheid activists have lamented the ineffectiveness of sanctions in practice and provided valuable evidence of systematic sanctions-busting by Western governments. But instead of asking themselves why it is that disinvestment and Western sanctions have always failed, they have continued to call for more of the same. It is high time that the anti-apartheid movement develops a more realistic alternative. ■

Andre Astrow writes extensively on African affairs, including the book *Zimbabwe: A Revolution That Lost Its Way?*



## Return of Dracula

Each time you think a stake has been whacked through the heart of contra aid, the corpse starts clawing its way out of the crypt again. Now, once again, contra supporters are roaring about Sandinista perfidy, and the networks and corporate press turn out the same unending stream of mendacity and ignorance.

So here, as yet another contra aid package moves through Congress, is the actual record of what has been going on, while Jesse Jackson was telling his supporters at the Democratic convention in Atlanta to take down their "No Contra Aid" signs, and while vice presidential nominee Lloyd Bentsen was searching his ever-elusive conscience on which way to jump.

Ever since talks broke off between the Nicaraguan government and the contras on June 9, the Reaganites and their congressional allies have been trying to put together a new package of military aid for the contras. The aid package proposed by Senate Republicans included \$27 million in "humanitarian" aid and \$20 million in military aid, to be released after September 1 if approved by both houses of Congress. But the more "liberal" Senate Democrats have pushed a bill through the Senate calling for the same amount of non-lethal aid. Their proposal provides for military aid only under specific conditions, including the certification by Reagan that the Nicaraguan government has created "an emergency situation" in Central America. House Democrats, who were considering the Senate bill as *In These Times* went to press, appeared ready to approve an aid package as well, though Jim Wright claimed that there is no consensus for resuming military aid.

The justifications for this new aid legislation are: (1) The peace talks broke down in June due to "Sandinista intransigence," i.e., the contras' principled demands for "democracy" were unacceptable to the Nicaraguan government. (2) The expulsion of U.S. Ambassador Richard Melton and the subsequent "crackdown" on internal opposition.

As usual the Reaganites have been assisted in the promotion of the former fantasy by the mainstream corporate media. In the immediate aftermath of the failure of the talks, coverage sometimes discussed contra proposals clearly intended to sabotage any agreement. The last-minute contra demands on June 9 included the forced resignation of the Supreme Court, the right of draftees to leave the army at any time, the immediate release of all anti-Sandinista prisoners—despite the fact that the Sapoia accord signed by the contras on March 23 called for their gradual release, with a detailed timetable worked out to accomplish that end—and national elections before January 1989 for an assembly that would draw up a new constitution. While these measures were being carried out, the contras demanded the right to remain armed in their enclaves until Jan. 31, 1989.

Julia Preston, writing in the *Washington Post* on June 10, said the last-minute contra demands "appeared to be a farewell gesture rather than a negotiating document. [They] raised a host of new points that had not appeared in earlier contra proposals and were raised only vaguely in the talks."

Nonetheless, press coverage generally sought to balance the blame between the contras and the Sandinistas, claiming both sides were at fault and sometimes even hinting that the Nicaraguan government

was largely to blame. The media also accepted the preposterous lie advanced by the Reaganites and the contras for the past seven years—that the *Somocistas* that lead the contras are fighting because of their deep belief in Western-style democracy and their touching adherence to democratic principles. Stephen Kinzer's article in the next day's *New York Times* said that the "central question" of the war was "What is democracy?" and wrote that the Sandinistas were resisting the "sweeping political changes the contras are demanding."

## Miami Vices

The fact is that the Sandinistas bent over backward to reach a peace agreement and were rebuffed by the contras, who clearly had no interest in this project. During back-channel talks held between May 26 and May 28 with contra leader Alfredo Cesar, initiated by the latter, the Sandinistas agreed to six of the nine contra demands verbatim, and the three remaining in principle. Cesar assured government negotiators he would sign an agreement if the points were agreed to and that he would bring along perhaps a majority of the directorate with him. He reneged on his promise and talks ended on May 28, even though the Sandinistas asked the contras to extend them. Humberto Ortega, the chief Nicaraguan negotiator, asked the contras' negotiators, "What do you have to do in Miami that is more important than peace in Managua?" in an unsuccessful plea to get them to remain in Nicaragua and finish an agreement.

Privately, the government prepared one further concession for the last round of talks scheduled for June 7-9: it would offer a one-month grace period between the end of the talks and the start of the phased disarmament of the contras. This was intended to allow the contras to be sure that reforms were moving forward before they would be required to turn over their arms. The *Washington Times* quoted a contra source who said that the government's offer was so good that the contras would need a good reason to reject it.

It was at this point that the contras returned for what was hoped would be the final round of talks before an agreement was reached. They refused to make any concessions, and then made their pile of demands on June 9, effectively killing the talks. According to a report by the Center for International Policy, "The contras consistently escalated their demands each time agreement seemed near."

David Bonior, the House Democratic whip, held a press conference in Washington on June 10 in which he said, "There are those within the contra leadership who are not sincerely interested in peace, and those in Washington who have actively encouraged the breakdown of the peace process." These included: (1) The dismissal of two contra commanders who signed the Sapoia accord, Diogene Menberno Hernandez and Walter Calderon Lopez, by Enrique Bermudez, who was later added to the contra negotiating team after meeting with Secretary of State George Shultz. (Bermudez has now been named to the contra directorate and is currently

being rehabilitated by the U.S. press. In an article in the *Times*, James LeMoyné politely referred to Bermudez as a man "of markedly conservative views," and said he had never been a favorite of the Somozas.) The two were subsequently arrested in Honduras and expelled to Miami on order of the CIA. (2) The sneak attempt by Henry Hyde and the Republican leadership on May 26 to attach an amendment to a bill that would have lifted restrictions on CIA support for the contras in 1989. (3) On the same day, contra congressional supporters, including Senators David Boren and Ernest Hollings, both Democrats, held a press conference calling for a vote on military aid in early June. (4) On June 1 contra supporters wrote the White House requesting that the administration make a request for military aid. This came at a critical point in the talks, when it appeared that great progress had been made. (5) In early June, Bermudez, Adolfo Calero and contra political director Aristedes Sanchez threatened a resumption of fighting. Sanchez was quoted in the June 5 *Washington Post* saying, "This will be the last round of negotiations.... Our struggle must end with the military defeat of the Sandinistas." (6) Calero was in Washington between June 7 and 9 trying to build support for military aid, this during the final round of peace talks in Managua.

Bonior's remarks were noted in a few stories, but they were widely ignored. The *Washington Post* paid the most attention, attacking Bonior viciously. In a lead editorial on June 12, they laid the entire blame for the failure of the talks on the Sandinistas. The editorial put forth one falsehood after another, including the statement that "The Sandinistas withheld agreement on terms of delivery of non-lethal American aid to

the contras...so most contras had to withdraw to Honduras." This despite the fact that the government had offered, during the previous round of talks, immediate delivery of aid through the International Red Cross. After this was rejected by the contras, government negotiators proposed that the Pan American Development Foundation, a subsidiary of the Organization of American States, make deliveries inside Nicaragua. This latter proposal was also rejected by the contras, even though it went beyond the Sapoia accord that said supplies could be delivered only after the contras moved into cease-fire zones.

The *Post* then moved in for the kill. They referred to Bonior, who "indicates that some Republicans, if not the contras, appeared eager to have the talks fail precisely in order to seek new military aid. If you can believe this, you are qualified to be chief deputy Democratic whip." After then discussing the supposed betrayal of the contras by Congress, and saying a Sandinista "peace" was, as a result, a *fait accompli*, the editorial asked, "Is it conceivable that David Bonior's Democrats could stop chasing ghosts and playing political games and bring themselves to be marginally helpful in a cause they embrace (peace), or at least stop hurting?"

Nor did the press ever show much interest in an item unmentioned by Bonior, the pattern of cease-fire violations committed by the contras between March 21, when the cease-fire began, and June 9. Witness for Peace compiled a report that concluded: "Despite the cease-fire contras continue to kidnap large numbers of civilians, to kill people in targetted assassinations and to detain and rob passengers on public and private transports. We confirmed the killing of at least five civilians and the kidnapping of more than 70 by the contras during the cease-fire."

Alexander Cockburn also writes a column for *The Nation*.

# ASHES & DIAMONDS

By Alexander Cockburn

## Give IN THESE TIMES for Half Price!

Take advantage of our SPECIAL SUMMER GIFT OFFER — Give one gift, a full 9 months of IN THESE TIMES for only \$24.00 (that's \$12.25 off our newsstand price). Get a second gift for HALF PRICE—only \$12.00, save \$12.00! Give a third gift for half price and save \$24.00, like getting the first gift FREE! Just fill out the coupon below and we'll do the rest — even send the gift cards.

IN THESE TIMES, 1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054

My Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Send my first gift, 9 full months for only \$24.00 to:

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Send my second gift, 9 full months for \$12.00 to:

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Send my third gift, 9 full months for \$12.00, to:

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Payment enclosed.

Bill me later.

Charge my MC Visa

Acct # \_\_\_\_\_ exp date \_\_\_\_\_

Or call toll free 1-800-435-0715. In Illinois call 1-800-892-0753

Offer valid only for new subscription orders only. Each gift mailed to Canada or Mexico, add \$9.75. And add \$24.75 for all other foreign orders.



SAVE \$12.00



SAVE \$24.00!  
Like getting  
the 1st gift  
FREE!!





whom the attackers characterized as a traitor to the labor movement. (As an organizer for the National Labor Committee, Cantor worked out of ACTWU's Union Label Department.)

None of the labor people is happy with Cantor's co-author Juliet Schor either, but Cantor is being singled out because he's directly associated with the labor movement.

**Simmering brouhaha:** Then, at the same Florida getaway, Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, denounced the book. It was outrageous, Shanker said, that labor's own people would attack labor this way.

In April the book was attacked again in a long review in the monthly bulletin of the AFL-CIO's International Affairs Department. The unsigned review said the book was a "far-left" tract with a "radical approach to foreign policy" that would weaken "the struggle for democracy and [pave] the way for the dictatorships of the left." A little red-baiting again.

What's the deal? If the book is so wrong, as the critics charge, it would seem that readers would see the errors. If even some of the arguments are valid, why not be quiet and hope nobody sees the book? That would seem the smart thing to do.

Indeed, the hard-liners of the labor movement are used to operating secretly and without opposition. Labor's foreign policy—even the fact that labor has a foreign policy—is one of the better-kept secrets not only in the labor movement but also in the country.

Recently, however, things have changed somewhat. Some stories have appeared on labor foreign policy, and the vast sums of money spent in conducting it. But a book on the subject, slender as it is, by people sympathetic to the labor movement still makes the hard-liners nervous. Perhaps the strong attack is intended to intimidate the next critics of labor's foreign policy. A preemptive first strike of sorts.

The magnitude of labor's foreign policy program is remarkable. Consider, for example, as the authors point out, that in 1985 the AFL-CIO spent \$39 million on domestic affairs, and \$41 million on foreign affairs. Cantor and Schor say that more than 200 people work directly for the AFL-CIO as foreign policy specialists.

Labor's interest in foreign affairs and its fierce anti-communism goes way back, of course. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, had thousands of suspected communists expelled from the AFL unions in the early '20s. And throughout that decade AFL conventions voted against resolutions asking for the reopening of diplomatic relations between the U.S. and Soviet Russia.

**Anti-communists mean business:** After World War II anti-communism became a big union busi-

## Cold warriors throw an icy reception

**Tunnel Vision: Labor, the World Economy, and Central America**  
By Daniel Cantor and Juliet Schor  
South End Press, 86 pp., \$5.00

By William Serrin

**H**ERE'S AN ODD ONE: A slender, polite, in most ways a mainstream book, with a press run so far of 10,000 copies, is creating a stink among elements of the labor movement. The cold warriors, young and old, who wield such power in the labor movement are atwitter. Think of them as crows in a high rookery, croaking, fluttering off, coming back, croaking some more.

The book is *Tunnel Vision: Labor, the World Economy, and Central America* by Daniel Cantor and Juliet Schor. Cantor is a former staff member of the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador and labor coordinator for the Jesse Jackson campaign. Schor is an assis-

tant professor of economics at Harvard University.

The book explores the labor movement's foreign policy and asserts that after World War II American corporations, international-oriented U.S. banks and the government organized a world economy based upon "free market" and "free trade" principles. An essential principle of that economic organization was fighting communism, and the labor movement helped implement the "cold war consensus" and fought

**The magnitude of labor's foreign policy program is remarkable. In 1985 the AFL-CIO spent \$41 million on foreign affairs.**

communism with all the diligence it could muster.

**Frozen cold warriors:** But in recent years this economic system, which the authors call "Wall Street

### LABOR

Internationalism," has profoundly changed: once-dominant U.S. companies face fierce international competition. But while companies have been successfully adapting to these changes, the U.S. labor movement is stuck in its cold warriorism, like a cat in tar, which has "strait-jacketed organized labor's ability to respond to problems such as the trade deficit, runaway shops and excessive military spending."

This analysis doesn't seem that harsh. Indeed, much of this has been said before. Yet the cold warriors are furious.

In February David Jessup, an AFL-CIO anti-communist of long standing, took time out to make sure William C. Doherty Jr., executive director of the AFL-CIO's American Institute

for Free Labor Development, which implements AFL-CIO policies in Latin American, was up on the book. In a two-page, single-spaced memorandum, dutiful employer Jessup said it was the book, not the AFL-CIO's Department of International Affairs, that did not understand the difference between democratic socialism and state communism. He said Cantor engaged in innuendo, slandered democratic trade unionists and, as I read the memorandum, was probably pink.

Later in February, at the annual winter getaway of the AFL-CIO executive council in Bal Harbour, Fla., labor staff members were allowed to make a vicious attack on Jack Sheinkman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) and a member of the National Labor Committee, which works to alter U.S. policies toward Latin America.

The point of this attack by Doherty, Jessup and others was that Sheinkman should not provide employment for people like Cantor,



ness. Labor, as Cantor and Schor point out, as much as business or government, wanted to make the world safe for capitalism. Many labor leaders, the authors say, shared the "perspectives and goals of business and government leaders" that a post-war internationalism based on "free-market principles" would be beneficial for American workers.

Moreover, over the years, the authors say, a useful, quiet arrangement was worked out in which the AFL-CIO would not interfere, for the most part, in the internal activities of its member unions; the unions, in turn, would let the federation go its way in the conduct of labor foreign affairs, which the book describes as the "only important prerogative" of the federation.

The authors see the economic system that emerged after World War II as a 20th-century form of 19th-century British imperialism. The free-market planners wanted to promote consumption, recalling the Depression when consumption had fallen. Exports were mandatory, as was free trade, which was a condition for European nations' participation in the Marshall plan. Strong opposition to American domination of the European economy existed both in America and abroad, however, and the economic strategists hit upon a sure-fire weapon for attacking their opponents: communism.

U.S. labor leaders were easily enlisted as participants in this ardent anti-communism, although of subordinate status. A strengthened management and a weakened labor movement agreed in the post-war years to what became known as the social accord. Under this, workers

received predictable wage gains and increased benefits, while management retained the essential prerogatives of ownership; that is, the right to make decisions on the important matters, such as production, pricing, plant location and other investments.

Many unions prospered, growing in size and in investments—many are still living off that money today. For business, raw materials from abroad were cheap. While the U.S. dominated world markets, other industrialized countries also prospered.

But there were hidden costs for labor. Wage increases were, for the most part, automatic. Unions lost their ability to organize and to think creatively; they became bureaucratized, then ossified. Third World

American country to diversify its economic relations and reduce dependence on U.S. multinationals is viewed as disruptive of economic relations between North and South."

**Too optimistic:** Despite Schor and Cantor's generally astute analysis, the authors are perhaps overly optimistic at times. There is an increasing openness regarding labor movement foreign policy, as demonstrated by the formation and continuation of the National Labor Committee. But the address at the 1985 AFL-CIO convention by Kenneth Blaylock, president of the American Federation of Government Employees, criticizing U.S. foreign policy in El Salvador and Nicaragua was not the momentous occasion the authors suggest. The authors call this

But they do not challenge the leadership so directly. That's against the rules of the club. So Lane and Tom, as AFL-CIO President Kirkland and AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Donahue are known, run federation foreign policy with the assistance of other hard-liners in and around the labor movement. I see no changes in this in the foreseeable future.

Nor, I think, does the book adequately explain *why* U.S. labor leaders have so eagerly and fiercely fought communism. "The Communist conspiracy," George Meany, the longtime AFL-CIO president, said, "overshadows everything else that we may think of." Why would someone think like this?

Perhaps this compulsion about communism may be explained by a primal need for demons, or by the fact that the notion of success, prosperity and capitalism as the American way was so implanted in the labor people's heads that they could not stand for someone—the Communists—to attack these notions. Labor leaders also wanted, I think, to show their patriotism; they wanted, too, to let no one else out-red-bait them. Anti-communism was also, for many, a careerist tactic to sack rivals.

Mostly though, I suspect, the concern over communism by the labor leaders demonstrates how ordinary, how simple-minded, how Babbittesque those allowed to advance have been.

Whatever, the result, as the authors say, was a "tunnel vision" in which "either you are pro-capitalist or pro-communist, pro-American or pro-Soviet. There is no non-alignment, no third way, no alternative model of economic and social development."

**A new direction:** The labor movement, the authors say, must begin to support free, democratic unions abroad, not just, in the main, anti-communist unions. And the movement must abandon the longstanding "shunning doctrine," under which the AFL-CIO prevents U.S. unions from making contact with foreign unions that do not have AFL-CIO sanction.

It must, the authors say, recognize that anti-corporate or pro-socialist beliefs by foreign unions may be legitimate, and it must beware of tripartism in foreign countries in which business, labor and government are to work together for economic gains; capital and government are usually far more powerful than unions abroad (this also may be true in the U.S.), and this leads to repression of unions, the authors say.

The labor movement must also beware of protectionism that pits American workers against foreign workers and must, most importantly, become internationalist and fight for a way—the book does not outline how this is to be done—to play a role in monitoring the flow of U.S. capital abroad.

Finally, the authors say, union members must feel free to debate foreign policy at stewards' meetings and at union executive board meetings. They assert that "the right and responsibility of trade unions to consider problems of international economics and politics is now fully established." And they caution that ongoing efforts "by conservatives to channel discussion onto the safe grounds of bread-and-butter domestic issues is a diversionary smoke-screen."

William Serrin is a former labor reporter for the *New York Times*.

## The labor movement must begin to support free democratic unions in foreign countries, not just anti-communist unions.

countries and their workers continued to be exploited.

Abroad, labor people, like their business and state department counterparts, came to see communism at work everywhere. The AFL-CIO usually supported centrist or right-wing unions. In Europe, Latin America, Asia, the AFL-CIO fought any union that seemed the least left as nationalism was often confused with communism. Often, for example, "fighting communism in Latin America has meant fighting worker and peasant rights," the authors say. The "desire of any Central

the "first floor debate on foreign policy...in the history of the AFL-CIO." If it was a debate, it wasn't much of one.

Liberals are always looking for signs of breakthrough; the slightest movement seems everything, a breeze that might mean the wind that will bring the rain to end the dry spell. It almost never comes.

The fact is that if the labor leaders associated with the National Labor Committee would assert themselves—they represent much of the AFL-CIO's 14 million members—they could alter AFL-CIO foreign policy.

# U.S. management and unions contribute to labor's decline

## The Decline of Organized Labor in the United States

By Michael Goldfield  
University of Chicago Press  
294 pp., \$25.95

By David Moberg

**T**HERE'S A POPULAR TENDENCY TO blame Ronald Reagan for the decline of organized labor. From breaking the air traffic controllers' strike to stacking the National Labor Relations Board with anti-union henchmen, he certainly hasn't done any favors for unions—which now represent barely 18 percent of the workforce. But Cornell University professor Michael Goldfield, a former union member at International Harvester, sees the decline as part of a trend dating back at least to the '50s.

Although economic conditions and the business cycle account for the biggest interim changes in union membership, the long-term slippage of union strength reflects declining

success in new organizing. A Republican in the White House historically hurts organizing, but that can't entirely explain the trend.

Goldfield examines many common hypotheses in an exhaustive, academic fashion. To Goldfield, explanations that stress a changing workforce—shifts to the South, women, services or smaller plants, for example—have little validity. Indeed, some of these changes should

make it easier to organize, he writes, and others are a wash. He punctures the common myth of the supposedly uniform resistance to unions in the South and Southwest: there is actually great regional variation. And contrary to popular belief, organizing in the service sector has been fairly successful, while organizing in traditional blue-collar manufacturing has been more difficult. One by one, Goldfield demolishes—or dents—most of the glib explanations of

union decline based on geography, industry, occupation and workers' personal characteristics.

Management's growing power (and a consequent resistance to unions) is the single most important cause of the decline, Goldfield con-

**Contrary to popular belief, organizing in the service sector has been fairly successful, while traditional blue-collar organizing has been more difficult.**

## UNIONS

cludes. One study showed that unions won 95 percent of elections where there was no employer resistance, and only 43 percent where union militants were fired, demoted or laid off.

**A strong push:** But unions, too, bear some responsibility, Goldfield argues, for not being sufficiently militant or not devoting enough resources to organizing. In general, he finds the unions with the strongest traditions of rank-and-file combativeness and those that have committed many resources do relatively well in organizing. The Teamsters are an interesting case, conducting a greatly disproportionate share of union organizing elections but doing far worse than most other unions.

Ironically, when unions compete to organize a group of workers—and presumably each makes a greater effort than usual—the success rate is higher than when only one union is involved. This calls into question the conventional wisdom that such organizing competition is bad for labor. It also suggests that trying harder everywhere might yield better results despite employer hostility.

Goldfield offers a cursory historical explanation for labor's decline, blaming defeats of the left within the

labor movement (and mistakes by the left), intra-union factionalism, the failure to organize the South after World War II, the growth of union bureaucracy and the subservience of labor to Democratic Party needs.

But this schematic conclusion remains unsatisfying, since it requires a richer historical analysis than just a final chapter to make it convincing. Of course, these historical explanations could also be pushed back even farther: the limitations and problems of the successful organizing drive of the '30s had their own deeper roots. And Goldfield offers no suggestion about why employer resistance developed successfully here in the post-war period and didn't in many other industrialized countries, including Canada.

Goldfield's work helps clear away many misconceptions and steers attention to the central political explanation of organized labor's decline (what he refers to as "the relation of class forces"). Any serious student of American unionism will find the book useful and provocative. But it will take a much different work to explain adequately why the balance of power between labor and capital developed as it did in the post-World War II period.



By Pat Aufderheide

## The have-nots of history find a place in museums

A CLASS OF BLACK HIGH SCHOOL students was milling restlessly about in the basement gallery of Richmond's Valentine Museum one day this spring. The museum, long known as a little jewel of Civil War artifacts and Victoriana in the Capital of the Confederacy, had opened an exhibit that defies its own traditions: "In Bondage and Freedom: Antebellum Black Life in Richmond, Virginia."

The exhibit reveals a long hidden side to Richmond's pre-Civil War history: work, family and community among blacks, both slave and free, in the South's major industrial center.

At one point, a young man angrily interrupted museum guide Michelle Mitchell: "What do you mean, 'free blacks'? If blacks could be free, why was there slavery? And I never heard of a slave being able to make money. I don't believe you."

Not long after the exhibit opened, a white visitor strode out of the exhibit with a single comment to the receptionist: "I'm not interested in slavery—it's over and done with." Another warned co-curator Gregg Kimball, "This exhibit will make black people hate white people."

On the other hand, retired Washington, D.C., schoolteachers Walter and Charlotte Brooks, in Richmond on a genealogical quest, were "very impressed—and I will say, surprised—to find an exhibit like this at the Valentine," says Charlotte. Walter Brooks' great-grandfather had run a livery stable in Richmond, both before and after purchasing his freedom. His life story resembled several highlighted in the exhibit.

"We are what we are today because of what happened in the past," says Charlotte Brooks. "Work like they're doing at the Valentine may help us recover that past."

Clearly the private museum's exhibit doesn't leave visitors neutral. Their reactions are a clue that America's present racial tensions are reflected in attitudes about the past. They also hint at sea changes in the notion of public history.

**Catching up:** "There's been an enormous change in museum exhibits in the last 10 years," says co-curator and historian Marie Tyler-McGraw. "They're going for less description—that simple display of objects—and more analysis. It's time for regional and city museums to get plugged into the social history research that's changed the field in the last two decades."

Social historians, many of whom came out of the self-consciously left wing in graduate training in the '60s and early '70s, have produced solid research that reshapes the American past. In a period of job shortage for professional historians, many have also taken jobs with public and private museums.

The Smithsonian Institution has become a leader in social history approaches. The program on black American culture led by Bernice Johnson Reagon, now a 14-year veteran at the Smithsonian (and a singer with the group Sweet Honey in the Rock), was a marking shift toward a broader perspective in public history. In the last decade, some of the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History exhibits have exemplified the energy of social history brought to a broad public.

The results have often been surprising. One curator recalls watching, at an exhibit on civil rights that Reagon curated a few years ago, two grizzled journalistic veterans of the era peer at a display of a SNCC organizer's uniform. "Did you ever think you'd live to see the day you'd see SNCC under glass at the Smithsonian?" one said to the other.

**Ideas, not objects:** Current examples of such exhibits are "Field to Factory," about black South-North migration; "A More Perfect Union," about Japanese-American World War II experience; and "Symbols and Images of Labor." In the works is a total revamping of the First Ladies' Hall, with a focus not only on the gowns but also the lives of the women who wore them and the way their lives reflected changing roles of women.

"Exhibits like this return museums to their ancient role as places animated by ideas rather than as reliquaries," says National Museum of American History director Roger Kennedy. "Both the form and the content are inclusive, saying that the history of this country belongs to everybody."

"Yes, it has been controversial. Change is hard. Snobbery is difficult to abandon. And thinking is sometimes not the first thing we want to do. But our job is to make people understand history, and you don't want to understand it if you can't find yourself in it."

Controversy, of course, can be a sign of a healthy, mind-jogging experience. As James Early in the Smithsonian's Office of Public Service says, "A cultural institution should be a catalyst for public education and debate. If their ambition is merely to be the purveyors of eternal truth, they don't even need to invite the public in."

**Heating up debate:** But the controversy over "A More Perfect Union" threatened to take an ugly tone. The exhibit, curated by Tom Crouch, was part of the celebration of the Bicentennial of the Constitution. "We wanted to show that one of the most

important things the Constitution does is to balance the enormous power of the state and the rights of individuals and small groups," he explained. "So we focused on a failure of the system that ended on a positive note, which is the way Japanese-Americans have used the system for redress since World War II."

### EXHIBITS

Crouch is still filing correspondence from a hostile campaign initiated by conservative West Coast groups, as well as complaints about the exhibit that have their roots in enduring anti-Asian racism that was heightened during World War II.

At the height of the tourist season in a Washington summer, you can see the tensions the exhibit raises. At the information desk of the National Museum of American History, a volunteer strongly recommends "A More Perfect Union." "It's my favorite one right now," she says. "I grew up in California, and I can remember

its are receiving a steady stream of visitors from other museums. Suddenly museum curators from places as diverse as Louisiana and Maryland seem eager to adopt an approach that includes blacks, women and minorities.

Mayo sees that eagerness partly as a way for local and private museums to better exploit their own holdings, since social history allows a far more flexible use of the artifacts. Even in the absence of a "Great White Man," a local museum may, with this approach, proudly present its past. "It's a kind of 'Roots' phenomenon," she says.

**Re-imagining the South:** If there ever was a volatile place to test the new approach to public history, it is Richmond, profoundly schizophrenic about its own past. And if ever there was a volatile subject, it is the lives of blacks under Richmond's old regime. In Richmond, as the local weekly *Style* noted recently, a charity dinner takes the theme "Gone with the

**"There's been an enormous change in museum exhibits in the last 10 years," explains one curator. And key to that change is an increase in presentations about the lives and contributions of "out" groups. The results, such as a Smithsonian exhibit about Japanese Americans' World War II experiences, are controversial.**

how suddenly, from one day to the next, the little Japanese girl who sat next to me in class disappeared and no one said anything.

"But the other day I recommended it to a man who asked me for suggestions, and he said, 'They should have shot every single one of them!' I said, 'Well, have a nice day, sir.'"

"But it's about time we had something like this: we should remember it. After all, we're not perfect—yet."

Edith Mayo, curator of the division of political history for the Smithsonian and in charge of the revision of the First Ladies' gowns exhibit, understands the swirl of controversy around such exhibits this way: "Any time you change the position of what has been an 'out' group in history, it tends to empower that group. People who know their own past have a better position from which to act in their present."

Whatever the consequences, programmers at the Smithsonian as well as pioneering private and local museums who produce such exhib-

Wind," but the official tourism film discreetly leaves out any mention that Richmond was the Capital of the Confederacy.

Richmond is beginning to grapple with its past, though. The Museum of the Confederacy—whose achievement is the restoration of the White House of the Confederacy—is now planning an exhibit of black history for 1990. The proposal follows resounding success at its neighbor the Valentine.

The Valentine began to change with its new director, Frank Jewell, who arrived three and a half years ago with a mandate to increase the museum's visibility. The museum has increasingly been redefined as an urban history museum, with a commitment to full participation by minorities, including a board that now features leading figures in the black community. The museum's audience doubled in two years, and blacks rose from 2 percent to 15 percent of its visitors. This exhibit is the third, and most ambitious, in a series

of five that focuses on Richmond's black heritage.

The goal isn't time out for affirmative action, but a basic reinterpretation of history. "Afro-Americans were central and essential to American development, not peripheral," Jewell writes in the catalogue.

Poring over census records, tax records, insurance policies, letters and church documents, co-curators Tyler-McGraw and Kimball discovered new information that made that clear for bustling, industrial antebellum Richmond. As the catalogue describes in an easy-to-read style, black labor was crucial to Richmond's growth, and the city's rich urban culture was shaped by a black community struggling within formal and informal limits on freedom.

**Back in the picture:** To dramatize their discoveries, the curators used novel as well as traditional techniques. Dramatic video tales of slavery and freedom bring narrative into the exhibit. The presence of black servants has been re-introduced into the tour of the restored Wickham-Valentine House, the museum's centerpiece. Scrim with life-sized silhouettes feature the role of blacks in running the Wickham home; their ghostly aura hints at their semi-invisible status but pervasive presence. Artifacts, such as pallets for slaves in the bedrooms, also serve as reminders. On Sundays, members of local theater group Theater IV interpret the roles of slaves in the Wickham household for visitors.

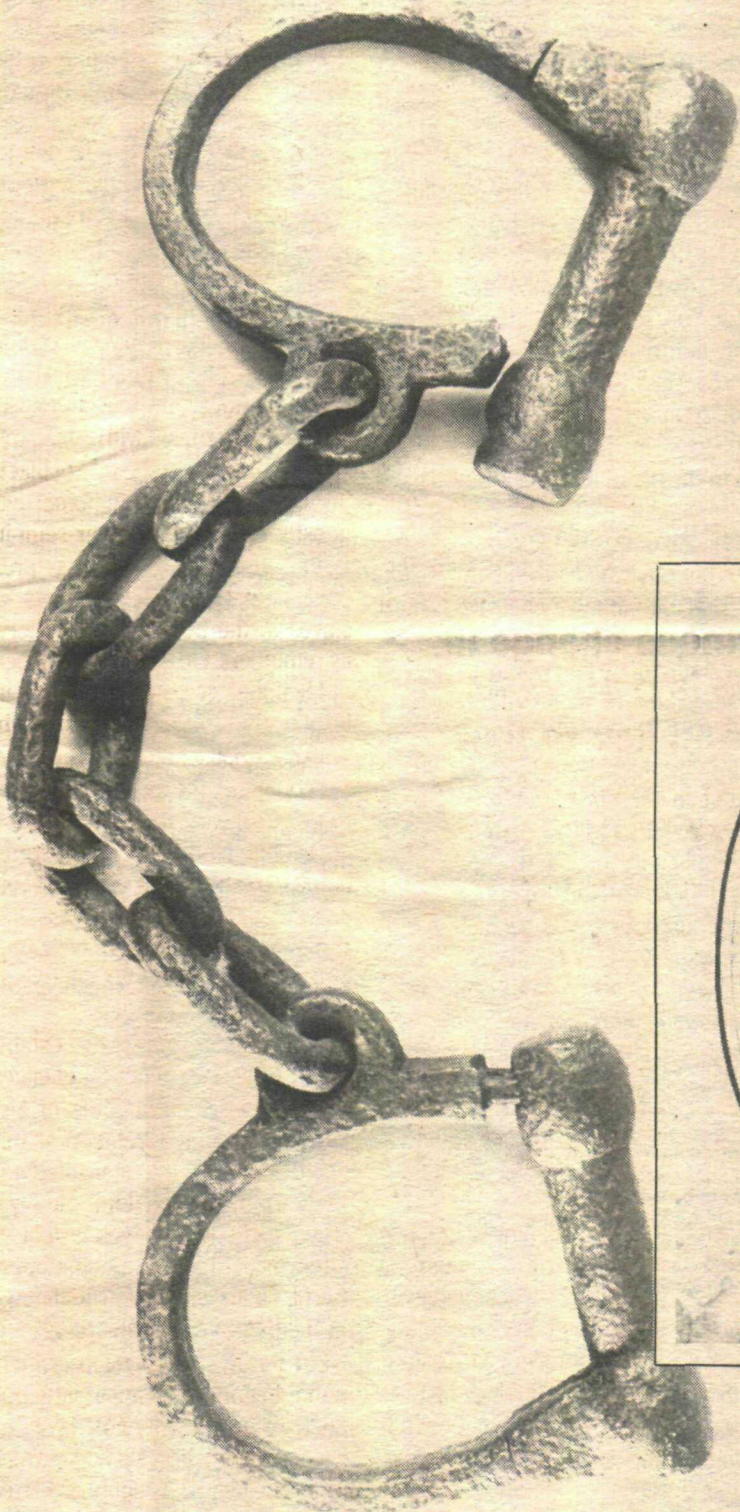
People get the point, and sometimes get uneasy, too. "There are lots of people who go from restored home to restored home, but get very uncomfortable with the idea that servants lived here, and even slept in the bedroom with the white family," says Tyler-McGraw.

Professionals praise the exhibit, which has drawn new audiences. Rex Ellis, assistant director for African-American interpretation at Colonial Williamsburg, consulted on "In Bondage and Freedom." He says, "The Valentine deserves accolades—they seem to have much more of the black community in Richmond on their side than in the past."

But this revised version of Richmond history was apparently too much for the next-door Medical College of Virginia Hospital, which briefly displayed a signboard-sized travelling version of the exhibit. Within a week MCV director of arts J. Wayne Fitzgerald had to return it.

"Some of the black staff had become overly concerned about the 'negative' content," he explained. "Our multicultural committee dealt with it and decided that the information on the board—unlike, I think, the Valentine exhibit itself—was enough to stir someone's emotions but not enough to help them resolve those emotions." Fitzgerald said the incident was valuable, however. He





"A More Perfect Union: Japanese Americans and the U.S. Constitution," at the Smithsonian, include photos of Japanese Americans being registered during World War II (top left and top right). "In Bondage and Freedom: Antebellum Black Life in Richmond," at Virginia's Valentine Museum, features objects such as leg irons (far left), photos of prominent blacks in the city's history (right) and images from the slavery era (below).



plans to mount a black memorabilia exhibit, and "I think our discussions over this gave me sensitivities I might not have had otherwise."

**Emotional legacies:** From his vantage point in a department that only opened in 1984, Colonial Williamsburg's Ellis can appreciate how much of a departure such programming is. "Slavery is still a contro-

versial issue here [at Colonial Williamsburg]," he says, "with visitors and with employees."

"Race relations are not so good in 1988 that people feel easy with the topic. It forces them to deal with something they have tried to forget for a lifetime, even more so with black people than white. The emotional legacy is much deeper and dis-

turbing."

It's clearly hard for some people in Richmond to adjust to being in the forefront of a trend. "One guy said, in a tone of voice that told me he didn't approve, that we were 're-writing history,'" says Kimball with a smile. "He was right—we are. Everyone always is."

© 1988 Pat Aufderheide



## Greens

Continued from page 11  
hit by the new poverty...."

Fischer and Knapp want the Greens to be the social conscience of the post-industrial elite. In fact, the Green electorate has always

been centered in the middle classes and the services sector. The Greens have already succeeded in offering German Yuppies a political alternative to Thatcherism. But in concentrating so heavily on the identity of their "subject," the Realo strategists risk fetishizing the "new middle classes" as some

workerist parties have fetishized the working class. This alienates other constituencies and distracts from analyzing problems and issues. Exaltation of consumerism is diametrically opposed to the original Green perception of the absolute ecological need to modify the consumption orgy of the rich countries.

**Pragmatic posers?** Realo theorists want to "normalize" the party, turning it into an ecological reform party. They recommend laws, notably fiscal incentives, to make the environment a "cost factor" in free market decisions. But how? Until such measures are spelled out more precisely nobody in the party can be fairly accused of opposing them.

The Realo Manifesto was badly received among Realos themselves, who are a majority among elected Greens. Christa Vennegerts, Realo spokeswoman for the Bundestag fraction, publicly objected to "a handful of individuals" getting together to define Realo policy. The Super-realo rejection of "base

democracy" has been so thorough that it has produced revolt in their own ranks.

Vennegerts, a banker by profession with no leftist past to live down, dismissed "ecocapitalism" as a meaningless and misleading expression. She said it was absolutely illusory to imagine that heavy industry would turn to ecologically sensible production without social pressure, and regretted the "absence of Utopia" in the Realo Manifesto.

Vennegerts said there had always been a consensus for combining fiscal and market-economy mechanisms to protect the environment, and called for the whole party to work together on ecological reform policy. "I hope that between realists a democratic discussion is possible," she concluded. Others agreed. If the democratization of the Realos goes ahead next fall, there is still a fighting chance the party may get itself together in time for the 1990 Bundestag elections.

## Prison

Continued from page 13

the falsification of prisoner hours, the failure to achieve ACA accreditation and the deception about profits, there are CCA's false claims about liability insurance. CCA promised the Hamilton County commissioners a liability policy of \$25 million. Within the first year of the contract, however, a reporter discovered that CCA did not have such a policy, and Beasley then said that policy had been too expensive but he was keeping \$5 million for liability in an escrow account, "untouched, collecting interest." He also told Larry Davis, the Bay County contract monitor, that he has \$7 to \$8 million in escrow.

But Jack Wallace, the account executive in charge of CCA's insurance affairs at the brokerage agency of Corroon & Black of Nashville, Inc., says that "to say they stuck some money in a bank is not accurate. They may have \$5 million in a general sense, but it's a complex transaction; they pay something, other companies pay something." He would not elaborate. Thomas Beasley and CCA president Doctor Crants are co-owners of the Dickson insurance agency in Nashville, but Dickson does not participate in CCA's liability arrangements.

CCA's false claims about liability insurance are doubly dangerous for local govern-

ments in view of the fact that in August 1986, the company dissolved as a Tennessee corporation and reincorporated in Delaware. The reason for this, according to CCA's prospectus, was to take advantage of "a recent amendment to the General Corporation Law...designed to limit the personal liability of directors." This leaves the governments back where they began: legally and financially unprotected from prisoners' lawsuits, and still responsible for what happens to them when they are in either public or privately run prisons.

As the example of Corrections Corporation makes clear, the attempt of the private prison movement to split off the solution from the origins of the problem is failing. Perhaps when the Reagan era ends, and the "combination of unaccountability and financial self-interest," as the *Yale Law Journal* noted, finally goes out of fashion, the country can look for real solutions to the problems of criminals. These solutions are not about profit, punishment, insurance, or anything of the kind, but lie in the relationship between the criminal and the community from which he feels so terribly separate.

**Deborah Davis**, author of *Katharine the Great*, is currently working on *On Collaboration: A Study of Collaboration as a Modern Political Behavior*, to be published by E.P. Dutton.

## Women

Continued from page 24

so are all men. What guides men, in everything they do, is castration anxiety. Because of this "men need to be right, even when they are wrong, and smart women know this and let them." Men "do resist domesticity; they are hunters by nature and their natural instinct is to run free." In another shimmering analogy, Grant reminds us that "a fish, like a man, wants to swim free. He has a natural attraction to the bait but an aversion to the hook."

**Sweet surrender:** All of this is, of course, "rooted in gender biology: men physically go 'downward'; that is, they penetrate women. Moreover, it has to do with man's biological need for dominance and control." Women have to surrender to male willfulness and, sometimes, this is a tad frustrating. Dr. Grant recommends deep breathing as "enormously helpful in the surrender process." Those women resistant to this surrender process are especially prone to "respiratory illnesses (blocking of the breathing passages)." And for years, I thought I had hay fever! Now, by just saying, "Yes, master, whatever you say," several times a day, I can throw out those decongestants forever.

Grant cites *The Taming of the Shrew* as a primer for how women should be trained and subdued. If a man points to the sun and insists it is the moon, the smart woman, the woman with real power, smiles and agrees.

This book saved my marriage and changed my life. I now realize that only the woman "makes or breaks the harmony of a home," that the woman is "the glue of an enduring relationship." Successful relations between the sexes are entirely the woman's responsibility—men are too tired and overworked to have to do this sort of thing. I have come to see that I "take a secret pleasure in dominance by men" for I have learned "what every sadomasochistic aficionado will know: submission can be downright relaxing."

So, I'm going to stop bitching. No more yelling and throwing slippers at images of Ed Meese or Orrin Hatch on TV. There's no sexism out there; just huffy, deluded, unfeminine women who don't know how to keep their lips zipped. My needlepoint kit is on the way, and tonight I'm going to wash my husband's feet with my hair. Then I'll start on those breathing exercises.

**Susan J. Douglas** teaches at Hampshire College and is selling her huge collection of Craftsman power tools cheap.



## CHICAGO '68+20

Come join Abbie Hoffman, David Dellinger, Bobby Seale, Studs Terkel, Paul Krassner, John Schultz, Judy Albert and many others to discuss the history and effects of the '68 Democratic Convention in Chicago.

Films • Music • Booksignings • Workshops



**August 27 & 28, 1988**  
**International Amphitheatre**

42nd & Halsted • Chicago  
Tickets \$5 per day

For More Info: Chicago '68+20 • P.O. Box 578627 • Chicago, Illinois 60657-8627  
(312) 984-1968

22 IN THESE TIMES AUG. 17-30, 1988

## CALENDAR

Use the Calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50c each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of **ITT Calendar**.

### CHICAGO

August 23

The World Premiere of "Eight Men Out," John Sayles' newest film, will benefit The Crossroads Fund Tuesday, August 23rd. The premiere will be held at The Fine Arts Theatre, 418 S. Michigan at 7 p.m. Tickets (\$25) can be purchased by calling Crossroads, 987-0941, or Guild Books, 2459 N. Lincoln, 525-3667.

### KALAMAZOO, MI

August 25-28

Finally the tables are starting to turn. Economic Justice, Student Empowerment and the 1988 Elections. 1988 Democratic Socialists of America Youth Section Summer Conference, Circle Pines Retreat Center, Kalamazoo, MI. Speakers include: Shakoor Alijuwani, Joel Bleifuss, Heather Booth, Barbara Ehrenreich, and Michael Harrington. Registration: \$80 (scholarships available). For information: DSA Youth Section, 15 Dutch St., #500, New York, NY 10038, (212) 962-0390.

### BREMERTON, WA

Labor Day Weekend  
September 2-5

Freedom Socialist Party National Convention. Prime topics: Imperial power vs. irrepressible revolt; Economics of capitalism in decline; Glasnost, perestroika and revolt in the workers states; Crisis of leadership in the labor, social issue and radical movements; The Nicaraguan state. To attend, write or call FSP National Office, 5018 Rainier Ave. S., Seattle, WA 98118. (206) 722-2453.

### NATIONWIDE

September 17-October 2

Soviet physicians will visit the United States on a speaking tour as guests of chapters of Physicians for Social Responsibility in East Lansing, MI; Milwaukee, Chicago, Minneapolis, Freeport, NY; Sioux Falls, SD; Medford, OR; and Tucson. Contact: Nancy Moorehead, PSR, 1601 Connecticut Ave. NW, Suite 800, Washington, DC 20009. (202) 939-5750.

### DENVER

September 23-25

The Institute for Peace and International Security will hold a National Working Session, "Moving Beyond the Cold War: Restructuring US USSR Relations," to examine new policy and strategy options for the peace movement. Contact: IPIS, 91 Harvey St., Cambridge, MA 02143. (617) 547-3338.



## HELP WANTED

**ALTERNATIVE JOBS INTERNSHIP** opportunities! The environment, women's rights, disarmament, media, health, community organizing and more. Current nation-wide listings—\$3. Community Jobs, 1516 P St., NW, Box 1029, Washington, DC 20005.

**AMERICAN SEMINARS** is seeking assertive individuals to teach "zero down" real estate seminars. You've seen them on TV, now do them in person. \$3,000 to \$6,000 PT—\$10,000 to \$15,000 FT possible. For interview call (208) 336-2903.

**LABOR UNION REPRESENTATIVE.** Opening for union rep to handle field work, organizing and grievances. Knowledge of music industry a plus. Background in community organizing or labor studies helpful. Must have car. Send resume to: Marvin Moschel, Local 802 AFM, 330 W. 42nd St., New York, NY 10036.

**CANVASS DIRECTORS WANTED.** Working on toxics campaign in the San Francisco Bay area (year-round temperate climate), involving major oil company. Campaign to win environmental rights for communities. Experienced canvass director or field manager wanted, excellent pay based on a strong incentive structure. Call: (415) 232-3427, National Toxics Campaign.

**ORGANIZER (12 time)** wanted by NYC Democratic Socialists of America. Responsibilities include office administration, organizing membership meetings, outreach and coalition coordination. Salary \$500-\$700 per month plus health insurance. Send applications to NYC DSA, 15 Dutch St., NY, NY 10038.

**ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT** to President of Labor Union, AFGE, Chicago, IL. \$16,630. Paid health insurance, flex-time, generous leave policy. Must be independent, organized, and have WP, dictaphone experience. (312) 886-1047.

**NATIONAL FIELD COORDINATOR** for social justice organization. Community organizing, program development, fund raising experience, travel required. Sal-

## CLASSIFIEDS

ary: \$30,000 plus depending on experience. Send resumes to: Jill Nelson, National Jobs With Peace Campaign, 76 Summer St., Boston, MA 02110. EOE.

**HIRING!** Government jobs—your area. \$15,000-\$68,000. Call (602) 838-8885, Ext. 7724.

**ASSOCIATION FOR UNION DEMOCRACY** accepting applications for Executive Director, its top staff job. Resumes to AUD, Benson, 30 Third Ave., Brooklyn, NY 11217.

### PUBLICATIONS

**GAY COMMUNITY NEWS** — "The gay movement's newspaper of record." Each week GCN brings you current informative news and analysis of lesbian and gay liberation. Feminist, non-profit. AND there's a monthly Book Review Supplement. Now in our 12th year. \$29.00 for the year (50 issues). \$17.00 for 25 weeks. Send check to GCN Subscriptions, Suite 509, 167 Tremont St., Boston, MA 02111.

**BE MORE EFFECTIVE IN YOUR PEACE-MAKING.** Learn how to: change attitudes, communicate sensitively, organize effectively, prevent burnout, etc. Get *Working for Peace*. Neil Wollman, Ph.D., \$9.95 + \$1.25 shipping. Impact Publishers, Box 1094, San Luis Obispo, CA 93406.

**PRIMAL, SPIRITUAL, TENDER.** A collection of 20 poems. Send \$5 to: Poetry, Box 201, Cape Cottage, ME 04107.

**THE PEOPLE.** Marxist biweekly. Since 1891. 4 months \$1. 1 year \$4. The People (ITT), P.O. Box 50218, Palo Alto, CA 94303.

### MISCELLANEOUS

**RUSSIAN TYPEWRITERS**, brand new Hermes portable, \$175. Also, English and other language typewriters. Russian language instruction. Jacob Sachs, 251 West 98th St., New York, NY 10025. (212) 222-6683.

**CAXTON BOOK SEARCH**, Box 1050, Evanston, IL 60204. Call or send wants,

phone and address. (312) 475-1800.

**"I SURVIVED THE REAGAN YEARS"** M L XL T-shirts \$10.95; 3 \$30. NuTone Enterprises, Box 20125, Dept. ITT, Rochester, NY 14602.

**SAVE CALIFORNIA'S LAST VIRGIN REDWOODS!** Please send donations: Humboldt Friends of Old Growth (F.O.G.), Box 4881, Arcata, CA 95521.

**FINGERNAIL FUNGUS?** Inexpensive natural treatment. Money-back guarantee. Send \$10 to: HMC, P.O. Box 458-CL, Milltown, NJ 08850.

**FURNISHINGS—HOME & OFFICE.** "Classic Furniture" 40% off. 150 major companies. Free literature. Sobol House, 350 Richardson Blvd., Black Mountain, NC 28711, (704) 669-8031.

### OPPORTUNITIES

**OPPORTUNITY FOR INDIVIDUALS** traveling to the Soviet Union to meet and help independent political activists in Moscow and Leningrad. Perfect for those interested in the movement for democracy in the USSR—will add a valuable dimension to your trip. Contact Alexander Amerisov, Soviet-American Review, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657; or call and leave message at (312) 883-5278.

### PERSONALS

**CONCERNED SINGLES NEWSLETTER** links left singles, nationwide. Free sample. P.O. Box 555-T, Stockbridge, MA 01262.

**CLASSICAL MUSIC LOVERS' EXCHANGE**—Nationwide link between unattached music lovers. CMLE, Box 31, Pelham, NY 10803.

**MAKE FRIENDS ALL OVER THE WORLD.** Send a self-addressed stamped envelope to: Rita Keller-T, Box 99615, San Diego, CA 92109.

### ORGANIZATIONS

**FINANCIALLY SUPPORT WAR TAX RESISTERS** even if you aren't ready to resist yourself. Tax Resisters Penalty Fund,

Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 25, N. Manchester, IN 46962.

**JOIN THE CAMPAIGN** to get the TIAA-CREF pension system to establish an optional fund free of investment in South Africa and nuclear weapons development. "Clean up TIAA-CREF," Peace Studies Institute, Manchester College, N. Manchester, IN 46962.

### VOLUNTEERS

**ITT NEEDS VOLUNTEERS** in the Business Dept. Gain political practical experience in a stimulating environment. Flexible hours available between 9-5, Mon.-Fri. Benefits include staff subscription rates, ping-pong. Call Teresa at (312) 472-5700.

### TYPESETTING

**CONCERT TYPOGRAPHERS** shares your interest in social change...Our profits help support *In These Times*. Concert Typographers provides excellent, fast typesetting with individual service and spirit. Put your typesetting



Engineers. Technicians. Businesspeople. Computer Professionals. Mechanics, etc. **NICARAGUA NEEDS YOU!**

Positions are urgently needed for 2-week training and consulting positions in various government and non-governmental agencies. Training available for 1 month. Please contact: **tecNICA**, Dept. 1, 3254 Adeline St., Berkeley, CA 94703 (415) 655-3838

dollars to work for social change. Call (312) 472-5700. Ask for Sheryl Hybert. Or write for our FREE brochure: 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657. Member CTU, No. 16.

**This publication is available in microform from University Microfilms International.**

Please send information about these titles

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Company/Institution \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_  
Phone \_\_\_\_\_  
Call toll free 800 521 0644. Or mail to: University Microfilms International, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

**Labor Educator Program**  
**Program Co-ordinator**  
**Labor Center**  
**The University of Iowa**

Permanent position. Must be able to develop and teach non-credit labor education classes, conferences, maintain liaison with Iowa labor organizations, prepare budgets and reports. Masters' Degree required in labor studies or equivalent field, plus extensive experience in duties mentioned above and demonstrated competence in core areas of labor education. Very extensive labor education experience may be substituted for degree. Mid to upper 30's salary; applications accepted until job filled. Screening begins late September.

Direct resumes or inquiries to: **Roberta Till-Retz**, Director Labor Center, The University of Iowa Oakdale Hall, Iowa City, IA 52242. An AA EEO employer.

## LIFE IN HELL

**LIFE IN HELL**

©1988 BY  
**MATT GROENING**

**CHILDHOOD IS HELL**  
THE CARTOON SERIES ABOUT THE LITTLE ONES

**CHAPTER 4**  
**How to BE A**  
**TURBULENT 2-YEAR-OLD**

**TIPS FOR TODDLERS**  
DOES MOMMY JUST NOT GET IT? THEN SPELL IT OUT FOR HER.

I DON'T KNOW HOW, I DON'T WANNA, AND YOU CAN'T MAKE ME.

JUST LOOK HOW IMPRESSED SHE IS!

I AM AN INDIVIDUAL!	THE UNIVERSE REVOLVES AROUND ME!	I HAVE A WILL OF MY OWN!	I MAKE DECISIONS!
I HAVE AMAZING POWERS THAT I NEVER SUSPECTED BEFORE!	I ASSERT MYSELF!	ON THE OTHER HAND, I AM JUST A LITTLE TYKE.	THE WORLD IS BIG AND BEYOND MY CONTROL.
I HAVE LIMITED ABILITIES.	I AM QUITE ANNOYED.	MY WISHES ARE IGNORED.	I AM QUITE FRUSTRATED.
PERHAPS I AM DELUDING MYSELF.	I AM PLAGUED WITH SELF-DOUBT.	I NEVER REALIZED BEFORE HOW TRULY BAD I AM.	I AM SO ASHAMED.

REPEAT THROUGH ADULTHOOD.

## IN THESE TIMES Classified Ads Grab Attention

...and work like your own sales force. Your message will reach 96,000 responsive readers each week (72% made a mail order purchase last year). ITT classies deliver a big response for a little cost.

### Word Rates:

80c per word 1 or 2 issues  
70c per word 3-5 issues  
65c per word 6-9 issues  
60c per word 10-19 issues  
50c per word 20 or more issues

### Display Inch Rates:

\$28 per inch 1 or 2 issues  
\$26 per inch 3-5 issues  
\$24 per inch 6-9 issues  
\$22 per inch 10-19 issues  
\$20 per inch 20 or more issues

All classified advertising must be prepaid. Advertising deadline is Friday, 12 days before the date of publication. All issues dated on Wednesday.

Enclosed is my check for \$\_\_\_\_\_ for \_\_\_\_\_ week(s)

Please indicate desired heading \_\_\_\_\_

Advertiser \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_

Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Send to

**IN THESE TIMES**, Classified Ads, 1300 W Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657.



# The Feminine MISTAKE

**Being a Woman: Fulfilling  
Your Femininity and  
Finding Love**

By Toni Grant  
Random House, 200 pp., \$17.95

By Susan J. Douglas

**B**OY, HAVE I BEEN A DUNCE. I MISGUIDEDLY thought that the reason I'd been out of sorts as a woman the past seven years was because of things like the Justice Department's assault on affirmative action, the increased feminization of poverty and the incessant attack on reproductive freedom, to name just a few causes of female depression.

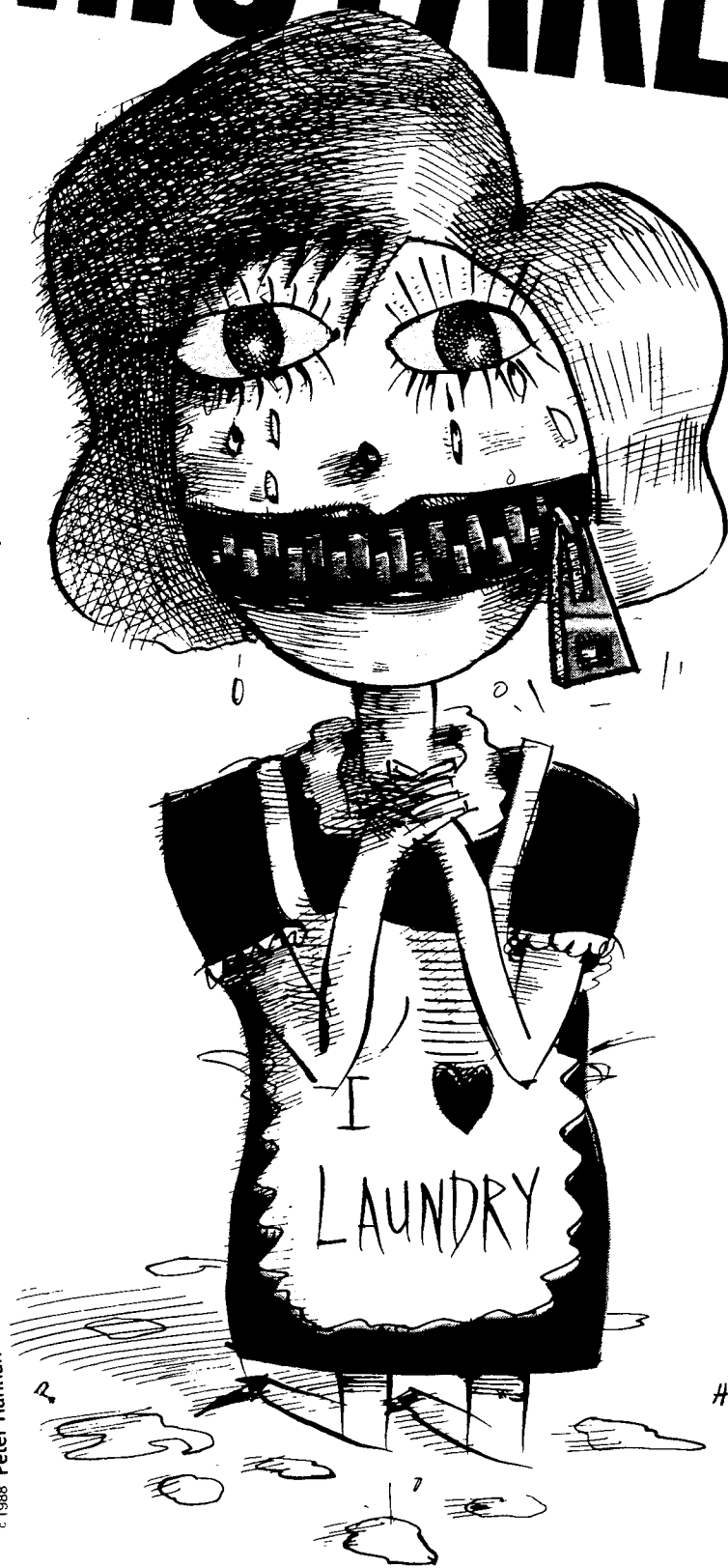
Yes, I'll admit it: I've been kinda moody since Jan. 20, 1981, and I tended to blame my irritability on others, particularly on a few jowly, privileged, pink-cheeked white men in Washington. I was even known to use the word patriarchy now and then. But now that I've read the bestselling *Being a Woman* by Dr. Toni Grant, a "pioneer in media psychology" who hosts a call-in radio show for the lovelorn, I realize just how misplaced my anger has been.

My analysis of the female condition under Reaganism has been all wrong. I've been so busy looking at silly things like social structure and economic practices that I failed to identify the real enemy. Toni Grant, Ph.D., opened my eyes to the truth: the real reason I've been unhappy in the '80s is because I've been duped and lied to by feminists.

"In her incendiary new book," proclaimed a full-page ad in *The New York Times Book Review*, "Dr. Toni Grant explodes the myth of 'liberation.'" The women's movement brought us nothing but misery and we women have only ourselves to blame. It is feminism that is singlehandedly responsible for female "stress, anxiety, depression, compulsion, addiction and exhaustion."

**The Amazon bungle:** While women may have deluded themselves into thinking they cared about equal pay for equal work, or increased educational and occupational opportunities, Dr. Toni knows better. Actually, we don't give a hoot about these things; we desire only to be "taken, transported, ravished, swept away, carried over the threshold of love in the arms of a valiant hero." While reading this passage I felt the spark of recognition, for, secretly, this is how I *really* feel whenever I see Sylvester Stallone, Oliver North or Hugh Hefner.

The problem for women today isn't that some men in power are troglodytes, it's that women have become what Dr. Toni calls "Amazons." Feminism has turned us into overeducated, uptight, promiscuous, male-bashing shrews incapable and undeserving of love. The Amazon travels in packs. Whenever she encounters a man her tendency is to "draw her sword and go



confessions  
of a born-again  
NEEDLE POINTER

straight for the jugular, to criticize and castrate wherever she senses weakness." Such behavior is generally unpopular, and it is Grant's mission to help us get in touch with our softer nature and "embrace our lost femininity." For feminism, argues Dr. Toni, "cripples female power." *Real* power comes from eyelash fluttering, tongue biting and toilet scrubbing.

Quoting two knowledgeable authorities on contemporary American women, Carl Jung and Sigmund Freud, Grant notes that "women do not know themselves." But Grant knows that, first and foremost, women are "passionately concerned about love." A real woman is "psychologically pre-conscious" and operates in "a natural, intuitive fashion, utilizing her feelings as opposed to her intellect. She doesn't think analytically or strategically about what she does at all. She just *is*."

**Man-ifest destiny:** In one of the many pathbreaking ideas in the book, Grant puts forward the revolutionary new concept that "biology is destiny." This means that all women are genetically programmed to be passive, submissive and deferential to men. The women's movement denied this irrefutable fact, and "the more extreme elements of the feminist and sexual revolutions" propagated what Grant calls "the big lies of liberation."

One such lie maintained that "a woman's attractiveness to men would increase with her achievements." Preposterous, exclaims Grant. "The contemporary woman did not anticipate that being overeducated might hamper her ability to relate to men.... Research statistics indicate that the higher a woman's education, the less apt she is to marry." This hit home. First, I realized that as an educator I was doing a cruel disservice to the women students I encouraged to attend graduate or professional schools.

Secondly, I knew Dr. Toni was talking about my very own marriage and that I better share my concerns with my husband. "I'm so glad you brought this up," he exclaimed with relief. "You know, I just hate it when we sit around, have a few beers and talk about politics or the media or education. When we go back and forth about ideas it's so, well...castrating. Couldn't you take up needlepoint and talk about the thread, or just smile and listen and never say anything? Our relationship would be so much better that way."

The other big lies of liberation, such as the myth that men and women are fundamentally the same, the myth of one's unrealized potential, and the myth that "doing is better than being," have made today's woman "an imitation man, at war with actual men." These Amazons "deserted their men and their children or rejected the entire notion of marriage and family;" they "went to orgies" and "participated in odd sexual arrangements" (a stage of the women's movement that I, unfortunately, missed out on). Today's women "fix their own cars and leaky faucets, travel alone, pay their own bills and wield their own credit cards." That's me, all right. Just yesterday I rebuilt the engine block.

Men hate these independent, self-sufficient types. In another pathbreaking passage, Dr. Grant astutely observes that "Boys will be boys; there is no getting away from it." Just as all women are alike,

*Continued on page 22*